M. MATSUBARA

PĀÑCARĀTRA SAMHITĀS and Early

VAIṢṆAVA THEOLOGY

As many have regretfully pointed out, the strict research of theoretical Hinduism has made little progress. This is particularly true in the case of *Pāñcarātra,* which was critically pioneered and summarized by F. Otto Schrader as long as 1916. In the present work much of what the author has said is, as per his own confession, still tentative and serves only as a stepping stone for future students of Hinduism with similar interests, hopefully to stimulate and promote their further research work.

The work is divided into two parts. Part One concerns the earliest phases of theoretical Pāñcarātra in Vaiṣṇavism, especially from the point of view of the original text, while Part Two contains, as a direct example of a more or less fully developed form of the doctrinal theology, a full and critical annotated translation of the first seven chapters from the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, one important earlier text of the Pāñcarātra Sect.

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With

A Translation and Critical Notes from
Chapters on Theology in the
Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā

MITSUNORI MATSUBARA

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PREFACE

In the formation of the ideas of God as conceived by ancient people, it seems fairly clear that there were two main trends, the "philosophical" and the "popular". These are two approaches to the concept of God, equally valid but different in direction, although in depth they are integrated and their difference does not necessarily exclude mutual relations and reciprocal interactions.

In the religious history of India, the philosophical trend starts from as early as RV 10.129 (*Nāsadāsīya Sūkta*) and culminates in the famous Upaniṣadic ideal of Brahman-Ātman identification, after a process of development through the complicated speculations upon the sacrifice (*yajña*) in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature, wherein most of the *Āraṇyakas* are included. This trend gives the impression of forming the fundamental standpoint of

the later Vedāntins, *viz.* one of the most powerful, influential, and best known religio-philosophical schools of orthodox Brahmanism.

The "popular" trend, however, though referring back time and again to RV 10.90 (*Puruṣa Sūkta*), is first clearly evinced in the middle group of the older *Upaniṣads* (e.g., the *Śvetāśvatara*, the *Kaṭha* &c) and then in the *Bhagavadgītā*, and keeps developing its way throughout the great Epic period down into the *Purāṇas*, which Hindus regard as the sacred scriptures of the masses, "the fifth Veda". Those popular texts which are open to the common people are generally explicit and frequently implicit in representing clearer, easy apprehensions and interpretations of their god concept, and it was presumably from this kind of religious trend that there emerged the popularized devotional Hinduism of India, in whose sectarian scriptures of the medieval age, such as the so-called *Śaiva Āgamas*, *Vaiṣṇava Saṃhitās* and *Śākta Tantras*, both of the above mentioned trends were somehow put together in ways suited to each of the three great denominations.

The philosophical trend has long been researched by many a scholar and referred to in some way or other as standard. But the language which delineates it is Sanskrit, a language of the learned priests in ancient India, and it could only have been the specially educated Brahmins and Kṣatriyas with their able command of the language who formulated the classical norms of the earlier days. This trend, we must say, represents only the views and thoughts that resulted in Brahmanism, which was the religion of the socially and intellectually leading class.

The notions or interpretations revealed in the popularly oriented texts, however, are often distinguished by

being much easier to understand with their fuller imagery and concrete pictures in contrast to the complicated arguments of the philosophers which are rather abstract and difficult to follow. What is even more important, though, is that the popular texts have been the varied but central loci for the development of Hindu devotional piety. Thus it appears strange that only a few scholars so far have approached Hindu religious thought by viewing from the popular side. When more attention is paid to popular Hinduism upon a strengthened new method, the achievements of such an approach will help to make up for defects or abstruseness of the purely philosophical ones.

It is with those problems in mind that I prepared the original version of this work as a doctoral thesis at Harvard University twenty years ago. As many have regretfully pointed out the strict research of theoretical Hinduism has made little progress, but has in its essentials remained near its starting point. This is particularly true in the case of Pañcarātra, which was critically pioneered and summarized by F. Otto Schrader as long ago as 1916. Pañcarātra of the early Vaiṣṇavism is a subject which still waits for qualified students to investigate and clarify in the future.

In the following chapters, although I made quite a few additions and revisions wherever necessary to bring them up to date with my own and others' more recent studies, much of what I wrote must still be tentative and some other points are put in the barest outline to serve only as a stepping stone for future students of Hinduism with similar interests, hopefully to stimulate and promote their further research works. In this academic field we are not at the point of arrival, but of departure. One may well agree with Francis Bacon (1561-1626) who says that a

serious student never fails to consider the possibility that he has made mistakes. He also says that it is indeed extremely important to present a hypothesis, because then for the first time original and promising arguments may begin to develop.

Even to confine our remarks precisely to the early history of Vaiṣṇavism, we encounter a number of complicated problems which await thorough investigation. Among them quite a few are discussed in the present work, which consists of two parts. Part One concerns the earliest phases of theoretical Pañcarātra in Vaiṣṇavism, especially from a view point of the original text, while Part Two contains, as a direct example of a more or less fully developed form of the doctrinal theology, a full and critical annotated translation of the first seven chapters from the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*.

Of the questions dealt with in Part One, we examine first, in Chapter 1, how the word *pañcarātra* is used in the available early Sanskrit texts and what it means there. Strangely, and quite unexpectedly, the usage shows the word never indicated the name of a sect. The history of a so-called "sectarian Pāñcarātra" is so far quite ambiguous and needs to be clarified, hopefully in the near future, by extensive research work.

Our Chapter 2 is mainly devoted to the tentative chronology of the extant *Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā*s simply with a view to finding out which ones of them belong to the earliest group. The general sequence in which these texts were compiled and/or grouped together must await, of course, the critical and full publication of the *Saṃhitā* literature.

In Chapter 3 we try to analyse concisely some essential features of Pañcarātra which are directly monotheistic in doctrine and confusingly liturgical in practice.

Both Chapters 4 and 5 focus upon the complex of integrative ideas of the Supreme God, and this eventually turns out to be the primary matrix of the theology of Pāñcarātra, a Tantric movement of ancient Indian popular theistic ritualism. The majority of topics brought up in these two chapters are concerned with the problem of the interchangeability of the aspects of God, the "impersonal" with the "personal" and *vice versa*, in the early Vaiṣṇava's religious history at large and in the theology of Pāñcatātra in particular. Here, as one may notice, is represented a typical view of ancient Indian theism formulated by Vaiṣṇava theologians presumably after the great Epic period, most probably during the Gupta dynasty which is so well known as forming the golden age of classical Hindu culture and religion. It may be fit to illustrate the popular trend discussed above—a trend which inherited the orthodoxy handed down ever since the older *Upaniṣad*s on the one hand, and which shared on the other, the same integrated concept of God with such popular scriptures as the *Purāṇas, Āgama*s and *Tantra*s. But more important to remark is the fact that this trend not infrequently aims for and attains some of the same essential and crucial points as philosophical Hinduism, but also displays them with another sort of wisdom. It is here that some fresh discovery or insight may be made and that some unexpected operation of ideas or new perspectives can be provided. Recently I have reconsidered the formation of Pāñcarātra's theory of four Vyūhas, as regards whose function the process of development is only incompletely presented in these chapters. The results will shortly be published in Japanese under a separate cover.

It is with great pleasure that I extend my cordial acknowledgement to Dr. Daniel H.H. Ingalls who was a Professor at Harvard University and Chairman of Sanskrit and Indian Studies during my study there. He often inspired me and guided me not only in his post-graduate seminar class but also through his encouragement as my thesis advisor, with his profound knowledge of Hindu philosophy and religion admirably combined with penetrating understanding into Sanskrit Literature. I am indebted also to Prof. H. Daniel Smith of Syracuse University, New York, for generously lending me from his own collection for a long time such rare, important and otherwise inaccessible *Saṃhitā*s as the *Pauṣkara-* and *Īśvara-*. I was financially aided by a Harvard-Yenching Scholarship during those years from 1969 to1972.

My acknowledgements are also due to my esteemed Professors at the University of Tokyo, beginning with Dr. Hajime Nakamura, Dr. Akira Hirakawa and Dr. Minoru Hara, who had initially educated me in Indian Philosophy, Buddhism, and Sanskrit Philology up to the post-graduate career. After having left the graduate school of Tokyo University, I received especially from Dr. A. Hirakawa warm and continual encouragement that was indispensable to pushing me on to research work.

I am grateful to Mr. N.P. Jain, Director of Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, for his constant interest in and active attention to this publication.

I should not forget that there have been many and still are not a few good friends who helped me revise and complete this work, and should like to express my sincere thanks to them all. As their names, however, are too many to note, I can mention here only one most recent, pleasant and unique experience. I now recall those happy

days, a couple of years ago, spent with Dr. Krishna U.K., Ayurveda M.D., in reading together the *Caraka Saṃhitā* in Sanskrit. He came from Udupi, Karnataka in South India, and was then studying at the Medical School of Okayama University. We used to meet once a week mostly on Saturday morning when both, I believe, enjoyed talking and discussing various aspects of Hindu religion and culture for more than three or four hours often forgetting the lapse of time. I learned and confirmed much from him, and he was for me even here in Okayama not only a precious native source of direct information, but also a touchstone to reconfirm my knowledge about traditional Hindu thought, customs and way of life. He thus deserves my warm gratitude for his devoted and friendly assistance.

Koyasan University M. MATSUBARA
February 1993

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Āg	Āgamaprāmāṇya
Ait	Aitareya
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ALS	The Adyar Library Series
AnirS	Aniruddha-saṃhitā
ĀnSS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series
AP	Agni-purāṇa
AS	Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā
AV	Atharva-veda
B	Bālacarita
BAUp	Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad
BhG	Bhagavad-gītā

BhP	Bhāgavata-purāṇa
BI	Bibliotheca Indica
Br	Brāhmaṇa
BS	Brahma-saṃhitā
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
BSS	Bombay Sanskrit Series
CHI	The Cultural Heritage of India
ChSS	The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series
ChUp	Chāndogya-upaniṣad
CS	Caraka Saṃhitā
DhŚ	Dharma-śāstra
DK	Daśakumāracarita
G	Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde
GopBr	Gopatha-brāhmaṇa
GOS	Gaekwad's Oriental Series
GP	Garuḍa-purāṇa
H	Harivaṃśa
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
IA	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	The Indian Historical Quarterly
ĪS	Īśvara-saṃhitā
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JGIS	Journal of the Greater Indian Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
JS	Jayākhya-saṃhitā
K	Kathāsaritsāgara

Kau	Kauṣītaki
KaUp	Kaṭha-upaniṣad
KP	Kūrma-purāṇa
KSS	The Kashi Sanskrit Series
KSVS	Kendriya Sanskrita Vidyapeetha Series
KumS	Kumārasaṃbhava
LT	Lakṣmī-tantra
Manu	Manu-smṛti
MārkP	Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa
MāUp	Māṇḍūkya-upaniṣad
MBh	Mahābhārata
MNUp	Mahānārāyaṇa-upaniṣad
MP	Matsya-purāṇa
MRS	Medieval Religious Literature
MS	Maitrāyaṇī-saṃhitā
MuUp	Muṇḍaka-upaniṣad
N	Nīlakaṇṭha
NIA	The New Indian Antiquary
NM	Nyāyamañjalī
NS	Nāradīya-saṃhitā
NSM	Nyāyasiddhānta-muktāvalī
NSP	Nirṇaya Sāgara Press
P	Purāṇa
PAOS	Proceedings of American Oriental Society
PauS	Pauṣkara-saṃhitā
PdS	Pādma-saṃhitā
PMS	Pārameśvara-saṃhitā
POS	Poona Oriental Series
PR	Pañcarātra
PRR	Pāñcarātrarakṣā
PS	Parama-saṃhitā
R	Rāmāyaṇa
Raghuv	Raghuvaṃśa

RTS	Rahasyatrayasāra
RV	Ṛgveda
s	sūtra
S	Saṃhitā
SanatkS	Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā
ŚatBr	Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
ŚBh	Śrībhāṣya
SBH	The Sacred Books of the Hindus
SDS	Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha
SK	Sāṃkhya Kārikā
SM	Siddhānta-muktāvalī
Sp	Spandapradīpikā
SPBh	Sāṃkhyapravacana-bhāṣya
ŚPS	Śrīpraśna-saṃhitā
SS	Sātvata-saṃhitā
ST	Sātvata-tantra
ŚvetUp	Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad
T	Tantra
TA	Taittirīya-āraṇyaka
TBr	Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa
TK	Tattvakaumudī
TMBr	Tāṇḍiya-mahābrāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya-saṃhitā
TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
TT	Tattvatraya
TUp	Taittirīya-upaniṣad
Up	Upaniṣad
URC	Uttararāmacarita
VājS	Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā
VAS	Vedārtha-saṅgraha
VDhUP	Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa
VedS	Vedāntasāra

Veṇ	Veṇīsaṃhāra
Vikram	Vikramacarita
VKS	Viṣvaksena-saṃhitā
VMS	Viśvāmitra-saṃhitā
VP	Viṣṇu-purāṇa
VS	Viṣṇu-saṃhitā
VSS	The Vizyanagar Sanskrit Series
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
Y	Yatīndramatadīpikā
Yāj	Yājñavalkya-smṛti

PART ONE

CHAPTERS ON PĀÑCARĀTRA'S THEOLOGY

IN THE *AHIRBUDHNYA SAṂHITĀ* (I ~ VII)

Translation with Critical Notes

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION : PĀÑCARĀTRA AND BHĀGAVATAS, THE RELATIONSHIP

Since the publication of R. G. Bhandarkar's fundamental work, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism* and *Minor Religious Systems* (Strassburg, 1913), several attempts have been made more deeply to research and clarify the general history of early Vaiṣṇavism.[1] In this religious trend, the Pāñcarātra must have been one of the important and flourishing cults. The name is often found in Sanskrit literature at large, and it is reported that the cult had a huge corpus of canonical texts, known as the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.[2] This may help explain why Bādarāyaṇa felt it necessary to refer to that system in the Utpattyasambhava Adhikaraṇa, the last section of the Second Chapter in his *Brahmasūtra* (2.2.42-5).[3] Despite these facts, extensive work has yet to be done on the Hindu religious cult. The first investigation by F. Otto Schrader, i.e., *Introduction to the*

Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, Adyar, 1916, and S. Dasgupta's chapter in *A History of Indian Philosophy* (Vol. 3, Chapter 16, Cambridge, 1940, pp. 12-62) have long been the only two scholarly works for more than half a century that furnish details on the cult. Although the two extensive works, namely, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Pāñcarātrāgama,* 2. vols., by H. D. Smith (1975/80) and J. Gonda's *Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit* (1977), have been published later on, still not much is known to us about its origin and antiquity.

The first occurrence of the word *pañcarātra* appears to be in *ŚatapathaBr* 13.6.1, where Nārāyaṇa, one of the important names given to God in the Saṃhitās, is presented as closely connected with a so-called Sattra ceremony to be performed on five successive days.[4] Having himself performed that ceremony, Nārāyaṇa is said to have surpassed all beings (*atyatiṣṭhat sarvāṇi bhūtāni*) and become this entire universe (*idaṃ sarvam abhavat*). In the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās again, god becomes this whole universe and yet exists far beyond it.[5] The name Nārāyaṇa, on the other hand, is curiously absent in the *Bhagavad-gītā,* presumably the earliest text of the Bhāgavatas, who also constitute an important and powerful cult of Vaiṣṇava tradition. Consequently, the assumption that the origin of the Pāñcarātra can be ascribed to about the time of the *ŚatapathaBr*[6] is a question to be put off until the early history of the cult and its *iṣṭadevatā* is sufficiently clarified with adequate data.

The early history of the Bhāgavatas is better known, because they have left many archaeological records throughout ancient times.[7] The earliest of these is the Besnagar pillar inscription, which dates back as early as

the second century B.C.[8] It records that a Bhāgavata Heliodorus, who was a Greek ambassador, set up a Garuḍadhvaja in honor of "Vāsudeva, God of gods." This God is called "Bhagavat" in another Bhāgavata inscription found at Ghosundi and ascribed to the latter half of the first century B.C.[9] These two monuments demonstrate with sufficient certainty that the influence of the Bhāgavata cult, the name certainly meaning "adorers of Bhagavat,"[10] extended beyond its own immediate circle, and that by "Bhagavat" Vāsudeva must have been meant.[11] The analysis of the word *vāsudevaka* furnished by Pāṇini 4.3.98 takes the origin of the Bhāgavatas back to at least the fifth century B.C. Pāṇini states that the suffix *-ka* (VUN) in that word bears the sense of *bhakti*; hence "Vāsudevaka" means an adherent or worshipper of Vāsudeva. Further, due to the identification of Vāsudeva with Kṛṣṇa implied in the *Mahābhāṣya ad* Pāṇini 2.2.24 & 34 [.1] when interpreted with *Kāśikāvṛtti* on Pāṇini 8.1.15, the origin of the cult may go back to about the time of the *ChāndogyaUp,* which mentions Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra (3.17.6).[12]

Whether the Pāñcarātrikas ever left similar archaeological records has not been ascertained.[13] Nor is the name Pāñcarātra or Pañcarātra attested until the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* (12.321-39), which seems to be the earliest source of the later Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.[14]

The relation of the Pāñcarātrikas and the Bhāgavatas is obscure.[15] But a comparison of MBh 12.332.13-7 with 12.336.1-4 shows[16] that the Bhāgavatas[17] are to be distinguished from the *ekāntins,* whose *dharma* is called *pañcarātra* in MBh 12.336.76.[18] According to the first passage, the Bhāgavatas and Sāṃkhyas must proceed

from the sun god[19] to all the four Vyūhas, one after another, in order to attain *mukti*, but it is explicit in the second passage that there is no need to go through the same process for the *ekāntins* who can enter directly into the highest Vāsudeva and obtain *mukti*. The earliest group of the later Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, which we shall examine in a moment, only rarely employs the term *bhāgavata*. In the *Harṣacarita*,[20] Bāṇa mentions the Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātrikas as separate among a number of sectarians gathering around in the hermitage of Divākaramitra. According to NS 29.20, the Bhāgavatas cannot study *pañcarātra* until completion of their Vedic training. From these instances, one may infer that the two cults were different at one time before Bāṇa, at least in North India.[21]

At this point, it will be useful to examine the signification of the word *pañcarātra*. No one has, to date, offered a convincing interpretation of the original meaning of the word. In fact, several random attempts have been made to explain it out in the Saṃhitā literature, but none of them is plausible:[22] their usage of the word, as we shall see, is a frozen one already in the Nārāyaṇīya and the earliest Saṃhitās. The original, essential connotation, if any, had obviously been lost before the time of those texts.

However, we can determine at least a relatively early usage of the word. To begin with, it is worth noting that Śaṅkara uses both words *bhāgavata* and *pañcarātra* with a delicate distinction in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* :

tatra bhāgavatā manyante / (on 2.2.42, p. 492, line 10)
varṇyanti ca bhāgavatāḥ ... (on 2.2.43, p. 495, line 12)

and

pañcarātra-siddhāntibhir ... abhyupagamyate/
(on 2.2.42, p. 496, line 12)[23]

An apparent peculiarity in the usage of the two words is that *bhāgavata* stands alone, but *pañcarātra* is in a compound. Thus, the impression is that the word *bhāgavata* means, by itself, an adorer of Bhagavat, but that *pañcarātra* alone cannot signify a group of devotees;[24] hence Śaṅkara is forced to put it in the compound to denote persons. What, then, does *pañcarātra* indicate? Let us first gather evidence from the relevant Sanskrit texts.

1. paṭhantaṃ aniśaṃ *śāstraṃ* pañcarātrapurassaram// (SS 12.144 ; ĪS 24.336)
2. pañcarātraṃ ... sad-*āgamā*khyaṃ mūlam
(PauS 38.308-9)
3. *tantram* ... pañcarātram idaṃ proktam (PS 1.31-3)
pāñcarātra-vidhāna-jñas *tantrā*ntara-vicakṣaṇaḥ// (AS 20.4)

pañcarātraṃ *mahā-tantram* (NS 25.337)
anena Nāradīyena *tantreṇa* ... / ... pañcarātreṇa ...
(NS 30.30)

4. *śāstraṃ* sarva-janair loke pañcarātram itīryate/
(ĪS 21.533)
5. pañcarātreṇa tulyāni ... *śāstrāṇi* (PdS 1.1.56)
śāstraṃ pañcarātra-puraḥsaram (ĪS 24.336)
6. sarveṣu *śāstreṣu* pañcarātraṃ paraṃ smṛtam //
(VMS 2.12)

pañcarātram idaṃ *śāstram*
(AnirS 1.41; cf. VMS 2.1 & 11-12)
pañcarātrāt paraṃ *śāstraṃ* na bhūtaṃ na bhaviṣyati / (AnirS 2.3)
7. *jñānaṃ* pāñcarātrākhyam
(NS 1.17 ; VMS 1.79, -āhvayam)
paraṃ idam *jñānaṃ* ... / pañcarātram iti khyātam
(NS 1.76)

8. pañcarātrāhvayaṃ *tantram* (AS 11.64, VS 2.52)
9. -ākhya *āgamaḥ* (PMS 19.522, ĪS 21.560)
   -ākhyaṃ *śāstram* (VMS 2.1 & 11)
10. -anuśabditaṃ *mahopaniṣadam* (MBh 12.326.100)
11. -mayī *saṃhitā* (AS 1.69, 59.70)
12. -abhilāṣa (PMS 19.521)
13. -anuśabdita (LT 4.28, vyūhāntara)
14. -artha (JS 33.80, kathita; JS 16.9, LT 21.31, *-vit*; SS 21.45, ĪS 22.45, *vettī*)
15. -jña (PauS 31.97, 38.75; cp. NS 11.79, PdS 1.21) and -kovida (NS 26.1)
16. -parāyaṇa (PS 29.78; NS 3.25, 13.368, 25.320; PMS 19.519 & 551)
17. -priya (AS 59.75)
18. -stha (LT 22.36, mantra)
19. -ukta (-mārga) (NS 25.343; PdS 1.6.31; ŚPS 1.6, AnirS 1.32; cf. PMS 19.521, garbha) and -uditādhvanā (NS 25.338 & 397, cf. 11.81)
20. -upajīvyatva (SDS 5.2, p. 128)
21. -vicakṣaṇa (PS 19.48)
22. -vidhāna (NS 1.74, PMS 19.550; AS 20.4, -jña) and -vidhi (NS 1.79, 15.238, 25.340; cp. 25.342)
23. -viśārada (PS 3.52, 6.21; NS 20.2, 24.15, cp. 25.237; VS 5.88; AnirS 16.38)
24. -viśeṣeṇa (devaṃ satataṃ smaret) (PS 8.63)
25. -vit (MBh 12.322.24, 337.67; SS 19.19, 20.36, 25.134 & 357; NS 17.87, 20.2, 25.224; PdS 1.17 & 40, 3.21, ĪS 21.263 & 498, AnirS 2.16 & 19, 3.2, KP 2.21.32)
26. -āgama (Āg p. 30, line 11; Yp. 30, line 3)
27. -saṃhitā (Āg p. 14, line 2; p.46, line 8)
28. -śāstra (Āg p. 29, lines 20ff.; p.60, line 25; p.61, line 18; ŚBh on 2.2.42, p. 700, lines 9ff.; p. 701, line 7; SDS 5.220, p.157)

29. -śruti (Sp p. 2, line 16; Āg p. 60, lines 9ff.)
30. -smṛti (Āg p. 60, line 21)
    and -smaraṇa (Āg p. 60, lines 7, 15 & 25)
31. -tantra (Āg p.1, line 11, *et passim*; ŚBh on 2.2.39, p. 695, line 2; p. 698, line 13; on 2.2.42, p. 703, line 13)
32. -upaniṣad (Sp p. 39, line 27)

From Nos. 1-11, it is evident that *pañcarātra* is the name of a sacred text, called *upaniṣad, tantra, saṃhitā, āgama,* or *śāstra*. This must be the basic meaning of the word, because it is found in the Nārāyaṇīya and also in the *SātvataS* and *PauṣkaraS*, three of the oldest extant texts. Hence the word is often found in this sense, when standing alone in a line without any qualifying words.[25]

The word should be interpreted in a similar sense in Nos. 12 through 25. Here, *pañcarātra* is said to possess a content which can be known and communicated (No. 14; cf. VMS 1.77-79); in it ritual rules are prescribed (Nos. 22 & 24); *mantras*, Sub-Vyūhas and other topics are explained (Nos. 13, 18 & 19; also cf. NS 25.397 & 29.39). Furthermore, it is indicated that one should be intent on and delight in the *pañcarātra* (Nos. 12, 16 & 17) and that one, often an *ācārya*, should study and become well versed in it (Nos. 15, 21, 23 & 25). The word, then, naturally had to mean the system (*jñānam*, MBh 12.337. 1 & 59) or ritualism revealed in the sacred scripture as is inferred from Nos. 20 & 22. This usage, probably started from the time of the *Mahābhārata* (No. 10 : MBh 12.326. 100) and also frequently evidenced elsewhere[26] is confirmed by MBh 12.336.76, which runs:

pañcarātram ... ekāntināṃ *dharmaḥ* (cp. AS 15.23).

Also cf.:

pañcarātrasya kṛtsnasya *vettā* tu bhagavān svayam /
(MBh 12.337.63; cp. LT 1.43, -niṣṭhā)

The *AniruddhaS* 1.32 (cf. PMS 1.57=ĪS 1.19) says:

pañcarātrād ṛte mukti-mārgo na vidyate /

"There is no path of emancipation (i.e., the devotion to God) except for *pañcarātra*."

Probably in the same sense the word *pāñcarātra* is used as follows:

pāñcarātra-vidhāna-jña (AS 20.4)
pāñcarātram ... *tantram* (PS 31.58)
mantrāḥ pāñcarātre prakīrtitāḥ (LT 24.74)
pāñcarātra-jña (NS 11.79), -udita (NS 11.81), -viśārada (NS 25.237)
-vidhi (NS 25.342), -vidhāna (NS 1.5)
evam *uktam* ṛṣe! samyak *pāñcarātraṃ* mayādhunā /
(NS 30.22)
pāñcarātrābhidhaṃ *śāstram* (PdS 1.1.52)
-ukta-vidhi / (PdS 1.1.69)

What is known as *pāñcarātra* is, according to the *NāradīyaS*, the very essence of the highest esoteric sacred knowledge manifested by the Vedic schools:

pāñcarātra iti khyātaṃ vedādhva-prakaṭīkṛtam /
etad rahasyaṃ paramaṃ *jñāna*-sarvasvam īritam //
(NS 29.40)

The phrase, *pāñcarātra-pravartakāḥ* (ĪS 8.176), is to be compared with the wording in the *PMS* 1.60 (=ĪS 1.30), i.e., ekānti-dharmasya ... pravartakāḥ.

The *ŚrīpraśnaS* almost always uses *pāñcarātra* : e.g.,

upādiśat pāñcarātraṃ Śrīpraśnam iti saṃjñitam / (1.44)
pāñcarātra-ukta-vidhi (4.17=PdS 1.1.69)
-artha-tattva-jña (4.18)

Some examples from the later commentators:

pāñcarātre 'pi tenaiva prāmāṇyam upavarṇitam /
(quoted in NM 4, p. 265, line 1)

pāñcarātraṃ bhakti-mārgaḥ (N on MBh 12.348.81)
pāñcarātra-matasyāvaidikasya śrute sāṃkhyayoga-mate 'nupasaṃhāryatvāt ... (N on MBh 12.351.22)[27]

Most of the above quotations and all the compounds given before in Nos. 26-31 are from later texts. In these places, the word *pañcarātra* or *pāñcarātra* may imply a sect-name besides its older sense; compare the similar case with the word *vedānta*, which, originally meaning the Upaniṣads, comes to designate a specific philosophical school in India.

The printed editions of the extant Saṃhitās have their colophones as these:

(1) iti *śrī-pāñcarātre* śrī-Sātvata-saṃhitāyām ....
(2) iti *śrī-pāñcarātre* mahopaniṣadi Pauṣkara-saṃhitāyāṃ .....
(3) iti *śrī-pāñcarātre* Jayākhya-saṃhitāyāṃ .....
(4) iti *śrī-pāñcarātre* tantra-rahasye Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitāyām .....
(5) iti *śrī-pāñcarātre* Parama-saṃhitāyām .....
(6) iti *śrī-pāñcarātre* mahā-saṃhitāyāṃ Sanatkumāra-proktāyām .....
(7) iti *śrī-pāñcarātra*-sāre Lakṣmī-tantre .....
(8) iti *śrī-pāñcarātre* Nāradīya-saṃhitāyām .....
(9) iti *śrī-pāñcarātre* Viṣvaksena-saṃhitāyām .....
(10) iti *pañcarātre* mahopaniṣadi Viśvāmitra-saṃhitāyām .....

The formation of this honoured title, *śrī-pāñcarātra*, would seem to be almost closely akin to that of "Śrī-Vaiṣṇava", a flourishing South Indian Vedāntic school from the time of the eminent teacher Rāmānuja.

Now the earlier meaning of the word *pañcarātra* is clear. It is exclusively restricted to the sacred text, or to the system and doctrine revealed in it. The single word

pañcarātra can scarcely designate a sectarian. To express this sense, the word must be put into a compound with words like *-vit, -priya, -viśārada, -vicakṣaṇa, -parāyaṇa* and so forth. Otherwise, the derivative forms like *pāñcarātrika*[28] used by Bāṇa and *pañcarātrin* (VS 2.52, NS 2.121) must be used. Śaṅkara was then well aware of the usage, and that is why he had to make the compound *pañcarātra-siddhāntin* to express particular theologians. Only in later usage might *pāñcarātra* have become a sectarian name like Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāśupata, etc., as was probably coined from the usage evidenced in Nos. 26-31. So seems to have said the commentary Saṅketa[20] on the *Harṣacarita* which glosses *pāñcarātrika* by *vaiṣṇava-bheda.*

The result of the foregoing investigation certainly indicates that, by the time of the great Advaitin Śaṅkara, the Bhāgavatas possessed the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās as their canonical scriptures. According to the *Nāradīya Saṃhitā*, those Brahmins who know Pāñcarātra well are said to be the best of Bhāgavatas:

yad brūyuḥ *pāñcarātra-jñāḥ* viprāḥ *bhāgavatottamāḥ* / (NS 11.79; cf. 29.20)

and the Bhāgavatas are supposed to worship the god Hari installed in a temple in compliance with the instructions given by Pañcarātra:

pūjyo *bhāgavatair* eva prāsāda-sthāpito Hariḥ / *pañcarātrokta-mārgeṇa* . . . // (NS 25.343)

The same idea is also explicit in the *SanatkS* Indra 3.80-1 as well as PdS 3.2.62. And it was still known to Bhāṭṭotpala who in his commentary on *BṛhatS* 59.19 glossed *viṣṇor bhāgavatān* ... *svavidhinā* by *pañcarātra-vidhinā viṣṇoḥ*.[29] Here the word *bhāgavata* probably denotes ardent worshippers of Bhagavat Viṣṇu in general, as for example,

bhāgavato yogī Vāsudeva-parāyaṇaḥ (NS 29.28)

rather than members of a specific sect, to include both the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcarātrikas in the same broad Vaiṣṇava trend. According to the *NāradīyaS*, the Bhāgavatas were evidently regarded as one of the leading Vaiṣṇava denominations; cf.

tatra bhāgavatālābhe dadyāt sad-vaiṣṇavāya vai // (NS 2.110)

and the *pañcarātrins* were specifically those devotional worshippers who had been initiated:

bhagavad-bhaktān *dīkṣitān* pañcarātrinaḥ // (NS 2.121; cf. 25.388)

A Bhāgavata, after invested with the sacred thread, is qualified to learn the Veda from an able preceptor (*guru*). But it is only when having got initiated that he will be able to study the *pañcarātra:*

evaṃ bhāgavato vedam upanīto 'bhyased guroḥ /
tatas tu dīkṣāṃ samprāpya pañcarātraṃ samabhyaset // (NS 29.20)

This religious requirement is open to every and any member of the four castes of India insofar as he is a true *bhakta* of the Supreme God:

karma-vāṅ-manasaiḥ samyak bhaktānāṃ parameśvare/
caturṇām adhikāro vai, *prāpte dīkṣā-karme sati* // (SS 2.11-2)

In the *Saṅketa* comm. (ibid.) the word *bhāgavata* is taken as Viṣṇu-bhakta which is frequently used in the *ParamaS*,[30] and by Bhaṭṭotpala on *BṛhatS* 15.20 as *bhagavad-bhakta*.[31] In a similar way, the *ParamaS* presupposes the identity of the Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātrikas. These two names are specifically mentioned as synonymous in *SanatkS* Indra 3.81-2 and in PdS 4.2.88.[32] Further, in Cambodia, a land quite far away from the Pañcarātra domain of India, before the latter half of the ninth century A.D. they were apparently used to refer to the same cult.[33]

REFERENCES

1. A brief survey of past research in this field will be found in the *Chitraoshastri Felicitation Volume*, pp. 597-623 ("Vaiṣṇavism" by A. M. Shastri). Further see, e.g., Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, 1916, pp. 79-121; -do, *Vaisnava Tradition*, 1920; Garbe, *BhG*, 1921, Einleitung; Raychaudhuri, *Materials*, 1936; Gonda, *Aspects*, 1954; Sircar, "Early History", 1956; Banerjea, *PT Religion*, 1966; pp. 18-62; Jaiswal, *Origin*, 1967; Gonda, *VŚ*, 1970; Dandekar, "The Beginnings of Vaiṣṇavism" and "Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism", *Select Writings* 2, pp. 204-319, etc.
2. Cf. Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 2-14; Dasgupta, *HIPh*, Vol. 3, pp. 21-4; Gonda, *MRL*, pp. 39ff. Thirty of those Saṃhitās are outlined chapter by chapter by H. D. Smith in his *Descriptive Bibliography*, Vol. 1, 1975.
3. According to the later commentators, beginning with Śaṅkara.
4. Also cf. AV 11.7 (or 9). 11, TS 7.1.10, TMBr 21.13.6, 15.5.
5. See, e.g., AS chapters 5-7, MBh 12.336.76, 337.63.
6. Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 25. For the Puruṣa-sūkta and Nārāyaṇa, see Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 24-33 and *MRL*, p. 47.
7. Available materials are collected by Jaiswal in her *Origin*, pp. 170-210. Also cf. Goswami, *Study*.
8. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 90-1.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-2.
10. The Śiva-bhāgavatas mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* on 5. 2. 76 may also go back to a pre-Pāṇini period (cf. Pāṇini 4.1.112).
11. Raychaudhuri discussed other evidence in his *Materials*, pp. 22-3. Also cf. VP 6.5.76.
12. Further information about the early history of Vaiṣṇavism is to be found in the books given in Note 1 above. An affinity between ChUp and BhG: cf. e.g., ChUp 4.15.6 vs BhG 15.4, ChUp 5.10 vs BhG 8.23-6. For some references to the Ups and BhG in the Saṃhitā texts, cf. Gonda, *MRL*, pp. 113-4.
13. Cf. H.D. Smith, "Relevance", pp. 15-18.
14. Cf. the next references in the Saṃhitās.
    To Śvetadvīpa (MBh 12.323.23ff.): SS 17.402, 25.310 & 365 (sita-dvīpa), PauS 4.199, 9.208, 30.183, 31.209, 36.317, 337 & 348, AS 53.73, PS 1.17-24, 31.4-23, PMS 1.58 & 94, ĪS 1.29, 20.302-3, AnirS 1.15, BS 5.6, VDhUp 3.349-53 (Hazra, *UpaP* I, p. 217).

    To the seven Citraśikhaṇḍins (MBh 12.322.26ff.): PMS 1.60-4, ĪS 1.31-5.
    To Rājoparicara or Vasu Uparicara (MBh 12.322.17 through 324.38): AS 47.9, 49.4, PMS 1.70-1, VDhUp 3.348, Viṣnudharma 72 (Hazra, *UpaP* I, p. 130).
    To Ekata (MBh 12.323.6 & 9-45, 326.11 & 79): ŚPS 1.10ff., 1.28 (with Dvita and Trita).
15. Cf. Gonda, *MRL*, pp. 47-8 and note 59: "the latter (=Pañcarātra) may be regarded as a subdivision of the former (=Bhāgavata)", viz., J.E. Carpenter, *Theism in Medieval India*, London 1921, p. 220; L. Renou and J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, I, Paris 1947, p. 647; P.V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, V, Poona 1958, p. 961; B. Bhattacharyya, Intro. to the *JS* edition, p. 13; J.A.B. van Buitenen, *Yāmuna's Āgama Prāmāṇyam*, Madras 1971, p. 6.
16. Cf. MBh 12.326.44 & 116-7, 332.18, 336.61, 337.67.
17. Despite the fact that Nārāyaṇa is *bhāgavata-priya* in MBh 12.327.2, 331.43.
18. Also see MBh 12.326.100, 336.28, 337.1 & 59, PS 31.31.
19. Cf. BAUp 6.2.15f., ChUp 5.10.2.
20. P. 235.9 & 12. Bāṇa wrote it about A.D. 650, according to Keith, *HSL*, p. 315.
21. The necessity to distinguish these two sects was first suggested by E. W. Hopkins in his *Religions of India*, 1895, p. 447, note 3. Also cf. Grierson, *IA*, 37, p. 218; Banerjea, *PT Religion*, p. 40; Jaiswal, *Origin*, p. 212; Gail, *Bhakti*, p. 6, &c.
22. PauS 38.307-9, PS 1.39-41, 31.19, VS 2.49-52, PdS 1.1.72-6, ŚPS 2.40, ĪS 21.513-33, VMS 2.3-8, AnirS 1.33-9, ŚāṇḍilyaS 5.1.4.75-8, VihagendraS 1.31-4 (translated by Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 23, note 1), NāradaPR 1.1.44, Padma-tantra 1.1.68-71 and Śakti-saṅgama-tantra (both quoted in Foreword of the *JS* edition, p. 10). Cf. MBh 12.336.76, JS 1.43, AS 39.7.
    Various opinions of modern scholars: Govindacarya, *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 940-1; Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 24-6; De, *Aspects*, pp. 54-6; Raghavan, *JAOS*, 85, pp. 73-7, and Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists, III-1, pp. 436-43; Buitenen, *History of Religions*, I-2, pp. 291-9; R. C. Hazra, Intro. to The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, translated by H. H. Wilson, Calcutta, 1961, p. c; Gonda, *MRL*, pp. 43ff.; Neevel, *Yāmuna*, pp. 8-10; Varadachari, *Āgama*, pp. 119ff. H. Daniel Smith, "A Typological Survey of Definitions: The Name 'Pāñcarātra',"

Journal of Oriental Research (Madras) 24-25, 1973, pp. 102-117. J.A.B. van Buitenen, *Yāmuna's Āgama Prāmāṇyam* or *Treatise on the Validity of Pañcarātra*, Madras 1971, Introduction pp. 6-16, for which see R. Mesquita, "Recent Research on Yāmuna", *WZKSA* Bd. 18 (1974), pp. 193-4.

23. Cf. Bhāskara on 2.2.40: *idānīṃ pañcarātra-siddhāntaḥ parīkṣyate / ... iti bhāgavatā manyante /* Also cf. the difference of usage between *pañcarātra*-vit (25.134) and *pāñcarātrika* (25.145) in the *SātvataS.*
24. Cf. Gail, *Bhakti*, p. 6.
25. PauS 38.303 (siddhānta), PS 1.33 & 31.19, SanatkS Brahma 10.53-4 & Indra 3.80, VS 2.22 & 24, 3.46, 11.58, AnirS 2.6-9, VarāhaP 66.19, KP 1.12.258, Sp pp. 8.6, 22.14, 29.23, 35.24, 41.10, 54.11, Āg p. 6.4 *et passim*, ŚBh on 2.2.42 (p. 705.14), SDS 4.258 (p. 117).
26. MBh 12.337.1, 59 & 63, AS 15.23, LT 1.43, NS 1.17 & 76, VMS 1.79, Tantravārttika on 1.3.4 (p. 114.23), VDhUp 1.74.34, 2.22.133, 3.73.48, KP 1.16.117, 2.16.15, 2.21.32, AP 219.61 (*pañcarātrakam*).
27. Cf. PS 31.31, SDS 5.269-70 (p. 157, *pāñcarātrakaṃ śāstram*).
28. SS 6.196, 14.30, 25.145, PauS 38.28, JS 16.342, 20.265 & 270, SanatkS Indra 3.82, LT 24.67, ĪS 11.233, 22.11. Also in KP 1.29.25, Āg pp. 51.6, 56.14, 76.16. It is one of the epithets of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa in MBh 12.325.4 (No. 59) and PMS 10.129.
29. Ed. by Kern: 60.19. Cf. Uptala on 104.8, *vaiṣṇavyena pañcarātra-vihitena pūjā-krameṇa ...*
30. E.g., PS 7.22, 12.21 & 40, 17.3 & 41, 21.45, 26.80, 29.78. Cf. SS 21.43, JS 16.5, 21.105, NS 9.318, 11.11 & 51, VS 15.78; SS 17.458, *mad-bhakta.*
31. This term is already found in the earliest Saṃhitās (SS 18.3, 20.38, 22.2, PauS 27.176, 30.195, 31.49, JS 16.52, 20.350, 23.1 & 111). For its description, see VS 2.38; cf. Hazra, *UpaP.*, I, p. 122, p. 137, note 75-6 (Viṣṇudharma 79-80), and Āg p. 26.16-7.
32. Quoted in Foreword of the *JS* edition, p. 8, notes 4-5. Also cf. VMS 9.90 (with *ekāntin* and *Sāttvata*) and Bṛhat S 59.19.
33. K. Bhattacarya, *JGIS*, 14, 1955, p. 112; -do, *Religions brahmaniques*, pp. 29 & 97-8.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EXTANT PĀÑCARĀTRA SAṂHITĀS

1. *Chronological Grouping*

By the time of the *advaitin* Śaṅkara (eighth century A.D.), the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās were definitely regarded as the canonical texts of the Bhāgavatas. Accordingly, they would seem to provide crucial information on the early development of Vaiṣṇava theology. Since our further discussion revolves around this early development, it will be necessary here first to arrange the Saṃhitās in chronological order so as to decide which ones constitute the earliest group. This group of texts will become our basic research source. Then, we shall analyze the general contents of the Saṃhitās, as well as the primitive names of the sect in which those texts originated, before the terms Pāñcarātra and Pāñcarātrika became prevalent. The latter problem will be the subject of our next Chapter 3.

The Saṃhitā literature amounts to more than two hundred texts, only a part of which remains at present in manuscript form.[1] The following MSS have been edited and printed in Devanagari script:

1. Nārada-pañcarātra[2] (1865)
2. Bṛhadbrahma-saṃhitā (1912)
3. Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā[3] (1916)
4. Īśvara-saṃhitā (1923)
5. Viṣṇu-saṃhitā[4] (1925)
6. Brahma-saṃhitā (1929) Only 5th chapter
7. Jayākhya-saṃhitā[5] (1931)
8. Pauṣkara-saṃhitā (1934) Many chapters hopelessly incomplete
9. Śeṣa-saṃhitā (1935)
10. Śāṇḍilya-saṃhitā (1935/36) Only the Bhakti-kaṇḍa
11. Parama-saṃhitā[6] (1940)
12. Pārameśvara-saṃhitā (1953)
13. Aniruddha-saṃhitā (1956)
14. Lakṣmī-tantrā (1959)
15. Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā[7] (1969)
16. Śrīpraśna-saṃhitā (1969)
17. Viśvāmitra-saṃhitā (1970)
18. Nāradīya-saṃhitā (1971)
19. Sātvata-saṃhitā[8] (1982)
20. Pādma Saṃhitā[9] (1974 / 1982)
    [Pādma-s. Kriyā-pāda (1963) Only the first 10 chapters]

The determination of the exact age of the Saṃhitās, to be sure, must await the full publication of the texts. In the meanwhile, there is sufficient data in the available texts to permit an approximate chronological grouping, if not of all, at least of the earliest. We shall take only brief note of the partial editions, Nos. 6 and 10, as well as of the apparently later texts.

First of all, it should be noted that the Nārāyaṇīya section of the great epic *Mahābhārata*, the probable source of the later Saṃhitās, must be posterior to the *Bhagavad-gītā*. This fact will become confirmed when we attempt to demonstrate a new syncretic identification of Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa, and Viṣṇu in the early Bhāgavata movement in our Chapter 5. For the time being, it is sufficient to point out that in the Nārāyaṇīya Nārāyaṇa is addressed as "Bhagavat" (e.g., MBh 12.333.25, 337.63-4; cf. BhG 10.14 & 17), although he does not appear in the *BhG*.[10] Moreover, the Nārāyaṇīya unmistakably refers to and hence presupposes the *BhG*:

samupoḍheṣv anīkeṣu kuru-pāṇḍavayor mṛdhe /
arjune vimanaske ca gītā bhagavatā svayam //
āgatiś ca gatiś caiva pūrvaṃ te kathitā mayā /
(MBh 12.336.8-9)

In MBh 12.336.49, the *BhG* is again referred to as the Hari-gītā.

Ratna-traya

The earliest work that quotes from the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās is believed to be the *Spandapradīpikā* by Utpala Vaiṣṇava, who flourished in Kashmir in the tenth century A.D.[11] While most of his quotations make only general reference to "Pāñcarātra", "PR-śruti", and "PR-upaniṣad", the names of the *Pauṣkara*, *Jayākhya* (or *Jayā*), and *Sātvata* are mentioned at every quotation, usually with the honorific prefix '*śrī-*'. It is noteworthy that in the later Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition these same three Saṃhitās are held in high esteem and are known as the *ratna-traya*.[12] For these reasons, one may infer that they are undoubtedly old and were already authoritative in Kashmir by the time of Utpala Vaiṣṇava.

They are almost certainly the oldest of the extant Saṃhitās, and their names are often referred to in the others.[13] On the contrary, the *Pauṣkara, Sātvata* and *Jayākhya* never mention these others' names. To be sure, there is a reference to the "*Pārameśvarāgama*" in PauS 39.18 & 20.[14] But, the word *pārameśvara* here cannot be taken as referring to the extant *PārameśvaraS*, as is clear from the verse PauS 39.18 itself:

ādyaṃ sarvāgamānāṃ ca pārameśvarāgamam /
pramāṇa-pariśuddhaṃ ca hitam abjaja! sāttvatam //

This "Pārameśvara" must be a name given to the original scripture of the Sāttvatas.[15] The extant *PārameśvaraS*, on the other hand, does not regard itself as this original text, for it refers not only to the *ratna-traya*,[13] but also to a collection of earlier manuals (*śāstra*), which it calls *pārameśvaras* (1.90). Furthermore, according to the Pāñcarātrikas, the original teacher of the Pāñcarātra doctrine is God Himself,[16] who is addressed as "Parameśvara" in the Nārāyaṇīya and with remarkable frequency in the *Pauṣkara, Sātvata* and *Jayākhya*.[17] It is, then, most probable that the original Saṃhitās were known as the *Pārameśvarāgamas* or *-śāstras*.[18] Their general names, however, seem to be *bhagavad-dharma, vaiṣṇava-tantra*, or *-jñāna*.[19]

A Kashmirian provenance of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās was first claimed by F. Otto Schrader[20] on the authority of the reference to "bhūrja-patra" in *Ahirbudhnya* 26.75 and 45.53. "Bhūrja-patra", or birch-bark paper, was a well-known ancient writing material used only in Kashmir.[21] Schrader's view is corroborated by the *Jayākhya*, a text not then available to him, for it also makes frequent reference to this birch-bark paper.[22] There is an allusion to snow (*hima*) on the Himalayas in AS 39.23, which is taken as more convincing by J. Gonda.[23]

Concerning the relative age of the three oldest extant Saṃhitās, the *Pauṣkara* was being said to be apparently older than the *Sātvata*, which once (SS 9.133) mentions the word *pauṣkara*.[24] But this is a misinterpretation, as is clear in the recently published critical edition of the *SātvataS* [1982]. The word *pauṣkara* in the SS 9.133 is referring not to the *Saṃhitā Pauṣkara*, but to the *sarga* Pauṣkara (Pādma-kalpa), that is, one of the three stages of world creation (*sarga-traya*) of the creator god, with the other two being Vārāha and Prājāpatya (Brāhma-kalpa; cf. SS 9.130-34 & comm.).[25] Therefore, the chronological relation between these two Saṃhitās is still dubious and unknown, and so is the relation of these two to the *JayākhyaS*.

The *Pauṣkara* may be older than the *Sātvata* and *Jayākhya*, for it uses the word *ekāntin* quite often in the older sense (PauS 30.103, 31.286, 32.76, 36.261, and 41.154). This usage, as we shall see in the next chapter, is no longer traceable in the *Sātvata, Jayākhya* and *Ahirbudhnya*. Further, the *Pauṣkara* still relates Saṅkarṣaṇa to *jīva* in 27.240 and Pradyumna to *manas* in 27.558. These relationships of the two Vyūhas are first mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya (MBh 12.326.35-7; cf. 332.15-6) and appear to have been known since then, as Śaṅkara refutes that particular doctrine in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* 2.2.42-3. But in the history of the Saṃhitā literature, these correlations tend to fade away,[26] and are completely neglected in the *Sātvata, Jayākhya, Ahirbudhnya, Parama*, and even in the later *VisnuS*. Since the astrological term *horā* occurs in 40.11, the *Pauṣkara* cannot have been compiled before the fourth century A.D.[27]

The *Pauṣkara, Sātvata* and *Jayākhya* are definitely later than the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata*. The

Pauṣkara, for instance, makes direct reference to Śvetadvīpa, of which the Nārāyaṇīya gives a full story.[28] More importantly, however, the three Saṃhitās use with striking frequency the term *vaiṣṇava* in the sense of a worshipper of Viṣṇu,[29] rather than as an attribute of the god himself. Since the term in the former sense is not found in the Nārāyaṇīya, we may conclude that these three Saṃhitās were composed after Vaiṣṇavism had been established as a major branch of Hindu tradition.

Even in the vulgate versions of the *Mahābhārata*, the term, *vaiṣṇava* is not used until the final passage (18.6.97),[30] clearly a late addition as it is discarded in the Poona Critical Edition. However, there is numismatic evidence which shows that the term must have become current by A.D. 400. The coin inscriptions of King Dahrasena and his son of Traikūṭaka (5th century A.D.) mention the more advanced formula *parama-vaiṣṇava* for the first time.[31] This formulation must have been influenced by the famous title *parama-bhāgavata* of the Gupta imperial rulers from Chandragupta II Vikramāditya onward.[32] Now, as *parama-vaiṣṇava* occurs in PauS 31.36 (also in [illegible] 31.13), it may be justified to ascribe the compilation of the *Pauṣkara* to around A.D. 500. This text is quoted by *Rāmānuja* in his *Śrībhāṣya* on 2.2.41 (i.e., PauS 38.293cd-4ab and 32.306).

The *Jayākhya* is evidently posterior to the *Bhagavad-gītā*.[33] In JS 4.63-8, BhG 13.12cd-17 is reproduced with minor changes and is elaborately interpreted in JS 4.73ff. Compare the following two passages:

anādi tad anantam ca *na sat tan nāsad ucyate* /
sarvatra kara-vāk-pādaṃ *sarvato'kṣi-siro-mukham* //
sarvataḥ-śrutimad viddhi *sarvam āvṛtya tiṣṭhati* /
*sa*guṇair *indriya*is sarvair bhāsitaṃ caiva *varjitam* //
(JS 4.63-64)

*anādi*mat paraṃ brahma *na sat tan nāsad ucyate* //
sarvataḥ-pāṇi-*pādaṃ* tat *sarvato'kṣi-siro-mukham* /
*sarvataḥ-śrutima*l loke *sarvam āvṛtya tiṣṭhati* //
*sa*rv*endriya*-guṇābhāsam sarvendriya-vi*varjitam* /
(BhG 13.12-14)

Also cf. JS 4.72a = BhG 13.13a, JS 2.32-3 vs BhG 8.17-9. JS 21.230-232a is an expanded repetition of BhG 11.10.

The date of this Saṃhitā is set at about A.D. 450 by B. Bhattacharyya, who draws upon doctrinal and paleographical evidence.[34] But J. Gonda who disagrees the validity of this kind of argument, points out that the *Jayākhya* 20th Chapter contains architectural materials belonging to some date between A.D. 600 and 850.[35] Besides, there will be found other evidences which make clear that the extant *JS* edition contains many interpolations of late origin; for example, an explanation of Karma-Sātvata given in JS 22. 15-6.

Ahirbudhnya-, Parama-, and Sanatkumāra-Saṃhitā

Utpala Vaiṣṇava quotes fourtimes from the *Jayākhya*. Although his quotations are all traceable in the printed edition of the Saṃhitā, the wording of them is not always identical. Let us take a look, for comparison, at two of his shorter quotations.

(1) tad uktaṃ Jayāyām,
yasmād devo jagan-nāthaḥ kṛtvā *mantra*-mayīṃ tanum / (Sp p.54.1)
yasmād devo jagan-nāthaḥ kṛtvā *martya*-mayīṃ tanum // (JS 1.63cd)

The second line is the same in both the texts:
magnān uddharate lokān kāruṇyāc chāstra-pāṇinā //
(Sp p.54.2 = JS 1.64ab)

(2) tad uktaṃ Jayāyām,

ekasya mantra-nāthasya*āpy* antar bāhyoditasya ca /
yad aikyaṃ taṃ japaṃ vi*ddhi* lakṣa-saṅkhyā*dhikaṃ*
mune // (Sp p. 34.4-6)
ekasya mantra-nāthasya antar bāhyoditasya ca /
yad aikyaṃ ta*j* japo vi*pra*! lakṣa-saṃkhyā*bhidho*
bhavet // (JS 14.69)

Compare also a larger one in Sp p. 9, lines 4-14 with JS 20.233-39. Only one quotation out of the four on p.11, lines 8-9, is identical with JS 10.69. From these instances it seems possible that Utpala may have cited many of the passages not from another version but from memory.

The same is probably true of his quotation on p. 41, lines 9-11, that is:

pañcarātre 'pi
prajñā-prāsādam āruhya aśocyaḥ śocato janān /
bhūmi-ṣṭhān iva śaila-sthaḥ sarvān prājño
'nupaśyati //

This is a well-known verse quoted in the *Yoga-bhāṣya* (on 1.47), where it is named "Paramarṣi Gāthā" by the commentators, and a similar verse is found at times in the *Mahābhārata*, e.g., 12.147.11 (cf. 12.17.19, 242.18, 13.198.93):

prajñā-prāsādam āruhya aśocyaḥ śocate janān /
jagatī-sthān ivādri-sthaḥ prajñayā prati*paśyati* //

It was even known among the Buddhists as in *Dhammapada* 2.28. *Mahāvagga* 1.5.7 and *Milindapañhā* (p. 387). *Udānavarga* 4.4, for instance, runs as follows:

(pramādam apramādena yadā nudati paṇḍitaḥ,)
prajñā-prāsādam āruhya tv *aśo*kaḥ *śo*kinīṁ prajām /
parvata-*stha* iva bhūmi-*sthā*ṁ dhīro bālān avekṣate //

Here, the difference of expression may be ascribed to difference of Buddhist and Hindu traditions. (Cf. mandabuddhīn avekṣate, MBh 12.17.19d).

Now, an almost identical verse to the Utpala's quotation given above, is found in *Ahirbudhnya* 15.71cd-2ab:

prajñā-prāsādam ārūḍho vimuktaḥ sarvato janaiḥ //
bhūmi-ṣṭhān iva śaila-sthaḥ paśyan sarvān avasthitān /

It may be possible to account for the apparent difference of the last *padas* as somewhat like this: since these two lines of the *Ahirbudhnya* are syntactically related to the preceding and following verses, Utpala may perhaps have intended to make an independent verse out of them. In any event, not only the similarity of the expressed idea but the correspondence of words in the two stanzas, certainly indicate that Utpala must have been familiar with the *Ahirbudhnya*, because he has clearly quoted "pañcarātre 'pi." Incidentally, the verse of the *Ahirbudhnya* belongs to a description of *sannyāsins* (15.65-75), which is probably one of the most impressive portions in the whole volume.

In addition, it seems reasonable to infer that by the time of Utpala Vaiṣṇava, who had a sound knowledge of Saṃhitā literature, the *Ahirbudhnya* was not as important a text as the *ratna-traya*. As we would expect by reason of its name, this Saṃhitā shows a close affinity to Pāśupata Śaivism.[36] According to the text, Viṣṇu is known as Śiva among the Pāśupatas (2.39, 33.15, 55.14); the original Pāñcarātra Śāstra already had a Pāśupata portion (11.43 & 46), and from this portion Ahirbudhnya as Paśupati Śiva built up the Pāśupata doctrine (11.54 & 61-2, 12.39-44); therefore, the Pāśupatas, who no longer follow the *trayī dharma*, are also entitled to the Pāñcarātra (15.22-3). One may also compare, in this connection, AS 13.24, 33.17-20, 51.41, 54.5, 55.8-14.

The tendency to include the Pāśupata system within the scope of the Pāñcarātrikas goes back to the time of the

Nārāyaṇīya (MBh 12.330.41-71). Despite this fact,[37] the *Sātvata* and *Jayākhya*, which, as will soon become clear, formed a part of the bases of the *Ahirbudhnya*, never reveal any particular affinity to the Pāśupatas, nor do the later *Parama* and the still later *ViṣṇuS*. More importantly, the *Pauṣkara* explicitly prohibits the worship of Rudra:[38]

skanda-rudra-mahendrādyāḥ pratiṣiddhās tu te
'rcane //

(PauS 36.257, 38.47 & 136-37; cf. JS 22.29-30)

It appears, then, that the *Ahirbudhnya* occupies a strange and unique position among the earlier Saṃhitās, for which parallels are found only in the later works, e.g., in the *LakṣmīT*.[39] As such, the *Ahirbudhnya*, cannot have been as highly regarded as the *ratna-traya*. This would explain why Utpala did not refer to "Ahirbudhnya" in his quotation, but merely included it in the minor Saṃhitā literature. The *Ahirbudhnya*, although an older text, apparently did not occupy the position of an authoritative text until Vedāntadeśika (PRR p. 23, line 2; p. 176, line 15-6 = AS 28.81cd-2ab).

Another reason for including the *Ahirbudhnya* among the earliest of the extant Saṃhitās is that the word *bhāgavata* as a specific sect-name is scarcely used in it. The text affords only a solitary dubious instance, in an explanation of *ahaṃ namāmi*, the last phrase of a *mantra* to Narasiṃha:

aham ity ātma-niṣkarṣo nantur *bhāgavatātmanā* /
(AS 54.13)

Narasiṃha is one of the well-known Avatāras of Viṣṇu, and the Bhāgavatas developed interesting myths around it in the Purāṇic literature. But the word *bhāgavata* in this excerpt cannot refer to that cult. It must be an adjectival form derived from the stem *bhagavat*, supported by

Pāṇini 4.3.120 and 7.2.117. Thus the paraphrase probably means, "the extraction of the (individual)[40] self from a devotee by means of the supreme self"[41] (cf. JS 3.24), not only because it is the only occurrence of the word in the text, but because the essential form of a self is identical with that of Bhagavat according to AS 6.5, 45.3, and 59.28. The *Sātvata* and *Jayākhya* implicitly coroborate our interpretation, for both the Saṃhitās nowhere mention the word *bhāgavata*.[42] The term *vaiṣṇava* occurs at least twice in the sense of Viṣṇu worshipper in the *Ahirbudhnya* (7.45, 36.41). From the absence of the term *bhāgavata*, it seems that the *Ahirbudhnya* is earlier than Śaṅkara.

The *Ahirbudhnya* is later than the *Sātvata* and *Jayākhya*, for it quotes both.[13] It regards the *Sātvata* as the authority for the descriptions of the Vibhavas (5.59), *snāna* (20.54), and various *mantras* (16.85, 27.31, 55.33). Likewise, it expresses its dependence upon the *Jayākhya* for the forms of *āsana*, the rules of *pūjana, mudrā, abhiṣeka, dīkṣā, niyama, bhūtaśuddhi*, and *dhyāna* (19.62-4). In addition, AS 17.4-29 presents a list of the three names given to each letter of the Sanskrit alphabet (cf. 16.45-76). This list is basically a reproduction of JS 6.32-57, AS 17.18-28 remaining almost identical with JS 6.47-57. Therefore, the *Ahirbudhnya* is definitely later than the *Sātvata* and *Jayākhya*, and yet has a close connection with both.[43]

The next group consists of the *Parama* and *Sanatkumāra*. As regards the *Parama*, it clearly is later than the *Pauṣkara*. The *Parama* twice refers to the Śvetadvīpa legend of the Nārāyaṇīya, first in the opening chapter (1.17-24) and then in the final (31.4-23). In the latter passage, the inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa are called *parama-vaiṣṇava* (31.13). This epithet is nowhere men-

tioned in the Nārāyaṇīya. It came into use, as already pointed out, at the time of the *Pauṣkara* (31.36) and the coins of the Traikūṭaka kings of the fifth century A.D., but is not connected with the inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa until the *Parama*. In this connection, we may note that the *Parama* is closely related to the Nārāyaṇīya as well as the *Pauṣkara*. Moreover, the frequent employment of the term *bhāgavata* necessarily indicates that the *Parama* is also later than the *Ahirbudhnya*.[44] In the *Parama* the terms *bhāgavata*[45] and *vaiṣṇava*[46] are quite often used without distinction, while the former is hardly found in the *Ahirbudhnya*. It will soon become clear that the *Parama* reveals a remarkable dependence upon the *Bhagavad-gītā*. This is not the case with our earliest texts, which only rarely show affinity to the ideas expressed in the *BhG*. It is already noted that the *Jayākhya* is a single exception among the older texts.

The *Sanatkumāra* must also be later than the *Ahirbudhnya*, for it uses the terms *pāñcarātrika, bhāgavata,*[47] and *vaiṣṇava*[48] interchangeably (Indra 3.81-2). Further, in the *Ahirbudhnya*, the word *mahāviṣṇu* is almost exclusively connected with the Narasiṃha Avatāra[49] or, exceptionally, with the fourth Vyūha Aniruddha (55.23 & 43-4), simply because it is mentioned in the *mantra* of that Avatāra (see chapter 54). But in the *SanatkS*, the status of *Mahāviṣṇu* is considerably raised. Although his connection with Narasiṃha is still preserved (Indra 6.77), the word in the text is also applied to the first Vyūha Vāsudeva (Indra 6.2-3).[50] On the other hand, the *SanatkS* introduces a new category, *Sadāviṣṇu*, that exceeds *Mahāviṣṇu*, and equates it with the *avyakta* Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa, the Supreme God.[51] Inasmuch as the conception of *Mahāviṣṇu* shows an advance in the

SanatkS, and *Sadāviṣṇu* is absent in the *Ahirbudhnya*, the *SanatkS* must be the later text.

We may now place the date of the *Ahirbudhnya* around A.D. 600.[52] The Badami inscription of A.D. 578 records the erection of a *Mahāviṣṇu* shrine in the temple precincts of "parama Bhagavat."[53] By this time, then, Mahāviṣṇu as a Vibhava god of Bhagavat had probably been a visualized object of worship, as reflected in the *SanatkS*; he does not seem to have yet attained this status in the *Ahirbudhnya*.

Both the *Parama* and *SanatkS*, therefore, are later than A.D. 600. But they must be earlier than *ca* A.D. 900, for Yāmuna quotes both in his *Āgamaprāmāṇya* (pp. 9 & 75 from the *Parama*, and pp. 80-1 from the *SanatkS*). Concerning the relative dates of the *Parama* and *SanatkS*, the absence of Sadāviṣṇu's conception in the former makes it the older. The *Parama*, being later than the *Anirbudhnya* and earlier than the *SanatkS*, can be placed some time between A.D. 600 and 800, let us say around A.D. 700. Then, the *SanatkS* will be between A.D. 700 and 900, probably around A.D. 800.

The *Parama* must have been one of the most important texts even among the later Śrīvaiṣṇavas. Besides Yāmuna's quotations noted above, Rāmānuja quotes it twice in his *Śrībhāṣya* on 2.2.42 (PS 18.9 & 1.3-4), and Vedāntadeśika mentions it by name in the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* (p. 110, line 7).

The Later Saṃhitās

The later Saṃhitās include the *Īśvara, Pārameśvara, Nāradīya, LakṣmīT, Viṣvaksena, Pādma, Viśvāmitra, Śeṣa, Aniruddha, Śrīpraśna, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Śāṇḍilya, Bṛhadbrahma*, and *Nārada-pāñcarātra*. In the following pages, we shall only briefly indicate the reasons why they must be late.

Thirteen lines from an "Īśvara-saṃhitā", so-called the oldest text written in the South India and still famous there, are quoted by Yāmuna in his *Āgamaprāmāṇya*, pp. 81-2. This Saṃhitā cannot be the extant printed edition, which must be a later text against F.O. Schrader's remarks (p.16), for various reasons. First, none of Yāmuna's quotations are found in it.[54] Second, the rules for Kṛṣṇajanmotsava, explained in its chapter 13, are found only in such late texts as the *Śrīpraśna* (chapter 41), whereas the older Saṃhitās never refer to those kinds of ceremonies. In the 13th chapter (*passim*), again, references are made to Kṛṣṇa who was born in the Yādava clan and lived in the city of Mathurā (also in 20.245-6 & 280-1). These details of Kṛṣṇa's life are not mentioned in the older texts, not even in the relatively late *VisnuS.*

The general lateness of the extant *Īśvara* is further indicated by its lengthy quotations from our earliest Saṃhitās, the *Pauṣkara* and *Sātvata*.[55] In these quotations, the *Īśvara* does not always make the necessary corrections to fit them properly into their new context. For instance, in the text, Nārada is telling the Sātvata doctrine (1.9) to the *sages*, not to a single figure, Brahmā or Saṅkarṣaṇa as in the earlier sources (see ĪS 1.2-18). But Nārada quite often addresses these sages with a singular vocative, a simple and careless borrowing from the earlier texts. Compare *mahāmate* (e.g., 17.232, 24.133, 142, 165), which involves no possibility of misprint, and also the following lines :

tato vibhava-devānāṃ dhyānaṃ vakṣye *dvijottamāḥ*! /
vaibhavīyo *mahābuddhe*! devatā-nicayo mahān //
ya uktas *te* mayā pūrvam ekaikaṃ *viddhi* taṃ tridhā /
(ĪS 24.165-6)

Similar examples will be found in ĪS 20.22-6, 24.91-6 & 107-10, etc.

Finally, the text includes fairly long verbal repetitions more than once: e.g., 1.19-40 vs 21.538-46, 8.40-7 = 24.370-6, and 20.198cd-203 = 21.571-6ab.

For the above mentioned reasons, the printed edition of the *Īśvara* cannot be considered as the one which Yāmuna quotes as a scriptural authority.

When we compare the extant *Īśvara* with the *Pārameśvara*, we find many passages which are almost identical.[56] Apparently in these places, one author is simply transcribing the work of the other, because in at least two of them the *Pauṣkara* verses are set out in the same order, as follows:

(1) ĪS	8.66-9	=	PauS 20.4-7	=	PMS 8.67-71ab	
	70-5ab	=	10-5	=	71cd-6	
	75cd-80ab	=	53-7	=	77-82ab	
	110cd-3	=	23-6ab	=	113cd-6	
	114-22	=	28cd-37ab	=	117-25	
	132cd-8ab	=	17-22	=	135-41ab	
	141	=	16	=	145	
	143cd-4	=	37cd-8	=	146cd-7	
	148cd-62ab	=	39-52	=	151cd-65	
(2) ĪS	9.12cd-9ab	=	PauS 4.163-9	=	PMS 11.12-8	
	20cd-1	=	172-3ab	=	20-1ab	
	32cd-45ab	=	183-95	=	32-42, 48-9	
	49cd-51ab	=	175-6	=	54-5	
	75cd-6	=	177-8ab	=	81-2ab	
	90-101	=	149-60	=	92cd-104ab	

Here, and in other passages,[56] the *Īśvara* must be the borrower from the *Pārameśvara*. First of all, it shows the same tendency, as noted above, to make careless quota-

tions, e.g., *viddhi*[57] and *mahāmate*.[58] Moreover, the vocative *nārada* in ĪS 14.216 is definitely out of place (cf. PMS 12.409). Our view is further clarified by a comparison of corresponding verses which differ only in particular words, such as:

ĪS 1.56	jñeyam	: viddhi	PMS 10.338
8.10	ihocyate	: śṛṇu kramāt	8.10
8.12	etāni vai dvijāḥ	: avadhāraya	8.12
9.104	tv atra	: brahman	11.106
9.111	tato dvijāḥ	: mahāmate	11.114
9.138 & 306	munīśvarāḥ	: mahāmate	11.141 & 309

Frequently elsewhere, the constituent words of those verses are identical and where there are differences, they are almost always when words are put into the vocative case; such words are found to be plural in the *Īśvara*, whereas the *Pārameśvara* uses them in the singular.[59] This being the case, the *Īśvara* must be changing the words of the *Pārameśvara* in the above examples. If the process were the other way around, there would be no reason whatsoever for the *Pārameśvara* to change the words of the *Īśvara* which often employs singular vocative. In so far as the corresponding passages are almost identical, these *ĪS*'s words quoted above, i.e., *jñeyam* etc., could have easily been fitted into the *PMS* contexts either as they stand or by changing only their case-endings for a-stemmed nouns from the plural to the singular within the limits of Sanskrit *śloka* meter. It follows that the opening chapter of the *Īśvara* is simply a poor condensation of that of the *Pārameśvara*. One may give as similar instances ĪS 8.65 (cf. PMS 8.64cd-7ab) and ĪS 8.170cd (cf. PMS 8.174cd-5ab). Furthermore, the *Pārameśvara* claims to be an elucidation of the *Pauṣkara*: *pauṣkarārthopapādakam //∴ mahāśāstraṃ pārameśvara-saṃjñayā//* (PMS 1.90-3)

And it gives a table of the *Pauṣkara*'s contents in 10.212-22. The extant *Īśvara*, although containing many quotations from the *Pauṣkara*, also claims to be an elucidation of an older text, in this case the *Sātvata*:

sātvatārthopapādakam / īśvarākhyam idaṃ tantram (1.70)

sarvottamā saṃhitāiṣā sātvatārtha-prakāśikā / (25.213)

It also gives a table of contents of the *Sātvata* in 20.196-204 (197 = PMS 20.212). Finally, Vedāntadeśika does not quote a single line from the *Īśvara*, while quoting copiously from other Saṃhitās, including the *Pārameśvara*, in his *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*. And even the name of the *Īśvara* is nowhere included in the list of 108 Saṃhitās in the *VMS* 2.17-32. In this way, we may now conclude that the *Pārameśvara* is older than the extant *Īśvara*, which was probably written after Vedāntadeśika in imitation of the purpose and passages of the former.[60]

The name "Īśvara-saṃhitā", to be sure, occurs in PMS 10.377 in a list of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās (PMS 10.376-82), which is reproduced and expounded in the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* on pp. 39-40. This "Īśvara" probably refers to the older one which Yāmuna quotes.[61]

In turning to the *Pārameśvara* briefly, it appears to be later than the *Sanatkumāra*, which it mentions in 10.380. A *Jayākhya* passage (2.31-9) is quoted in PMS 10.108-17. Hence it seems to have some connection with the *Jayākhya* besides its close relation to the *Pauṣkara*.

The *LakṣmīT* is frequently quoted in the *Rahasyatrayasāra* of Vedāntadeśika.[62] It is a supplement to the *Sātvata* (cf. LT 1.19-25, 57.30cd), and mentions this name at least twice (LT 2.59, 11.28). Probably in more than two places the text enlarges the *Sātvata* description: LT 10.27-40 expounds SS 5.9 cd-19, which is quoted in ĪS

24.117-29, and LT 31.45-60 is an enlargement of ĪS 7.194-204, which should be a quotation from the *SS*. Besides this relation to the *Sātvata*, it is also related to the *Jayākhya* and *Ahirbudhnya*; for instance, quotations are found from these texts, JS 13.76cd-8ab in LT 37.41cd-3ab and AS 37.28-9 in LT 17.60-1. The word *prapatti* (LT 28.9 & 11; cf. 17.91 and BhG 2.7d) may indicate that the text is of late origin. The word never occurs in the *Pauṣkara*, *Sātvata*, *Jayākhya*, *Ahirbudhnya*, and *Parama*. In the *AS*, the older term *śaraṇāgati* is used instead (37.29 & 31; cf. PauS 36.33, PS 30.64-6, LT 17.61, 75 & 101), probably succeeding to the idea expressed in the *BhG* 18.66:

sarva-dharmān parityajya *mām ekaṃ śaraṇaṃ vraja* /
ahaṃ tvā sarva-pāpebhyo mokṣayiṣyāmi mā śucaḥ //

S. Gupta, who translated the *LT* into English, has an opinion that the text was compiled in 9th to 12th centuries (pp. xix-xxi).

The remaining Saṃhitās, which are not quoted or named in the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, betray their late origin in one way or another. The *Śeṣa* (p. 85, line 2) uses the word *prapatti*.[63] Both the *Śeṣa* (1.3-4) and *Aniruddha* (2.12) call *pañcarātra* the "pañcama Veda", a term not found in the earlier texts.

The *Śrī-praśna*, according to V. Raghavan,[64] is later than Yāmuna. Its 13th chapter mostly consists of direct quotations from *Sātvata* 24,[65] and chapters 4-10 are expansions of the *Sātvata* portions quoted in the *Īśvara* 16th chapter.[66] ŚPS 53.18-9 comes either directly from the *Ahirbudhnya* (37.28-9) or by way of the *LakṣmīT* (17.60-1). On the other hand, throughout the *Śrīpraśna* copious quotations are found from the Kriyāpāda of the *PādmaS*,[67] which is said to be an elucidation of the *Jayākhya:*

jayākhyasyāsya tantrasya vyākhyānaṃ pādmam ucyate/
(JS I, Adhika Pāṭha 8)

And ŚPS 16.88-93 is evidently written by following JS 16.157 & 162-9. Therefore, the text is closely related to the *Jayākhya* as well as to the *Sātvata*. This being the case, the mentioning of "bhūrja-patra" (52.71 & 144) does not necessarily indicate an early, Kashmir origin of this Saṃhitā.[68] It would be more likely that a compiler of the text simply copied the word from the *Jayākhya*, or possibly from the *PādmaS*.

This *PādmaS*, although not known to the *PRR* of *Vedāntadeśika*, must be an earlier text among the middle -age Saṃhitās, and retains the old names of *Ekāntika* and *Sāttvata* as identical with *Pāñcarātrika* (PdS 4.2.87-8) while adequately using the name *Bhāgavata* (e.g., 4.2.87-91).

ŚPS 7.3cd-6 is similar to VS 13.30-3ab. This *ViṣṇuS* is also a late work, but is listed up in the catalogue of PdS 1.1.111. It is probably written after the *SanatkS*, as it frequently mentions both Mahāviṣṇu and Sadāviṣṇu.[69] It is closely connected with the *Parama* and borrows many verses from this text.[70]

The *Viśvāmitra* is considered to be a work posterior to the *SanatkS*, *Śrīpraśna*, *Nāradīya*, *Viṣvaksena*, *Pārameśvara*, and referes *LakṣmīT* by the name of *Padmodbhava Tantra* or *Mahālakṣmī Saṃhitā*. These names are catalogued among the 108 Saṃhitās in the VMS list (2.17-32).

In the *Brahma* (5.1), Kṛṣṇa is God Himself, but in the earlier texts he appears merely as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu.[71] The *Śāṇḍilya* mentions "Śrī-kṛṣṇa-deva" (e.g., 5.1.1.19, 5.3.11.67), an epithet found only in the later texts and gives a reference to Vallabhāchārya in 4.15.43. The *Bṛhad-*

brahma is well-known for a prophecy concerning Rāmānuja (2.7.67-71), and is filled with Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā material (2.5.46, 2.6.57-63, 12.6.30ff., *et passim*). Hence this text cannot be placed before the twelfth century A.D. The *NāradaPR*, which happened to be the first Saṃhitā text introduced to Western world, is also devoted to Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā worship. In 2.7.28-32, it refers to the present forms of the *BhāgavataP* in twelve skandhas and of the *BrahmavaivartaP* in four khaṇḍas as well as to the *ViṣṇuP*. In another place (1.1. 56-7), the *NāradaPR* expands the pañcarātra-pañcaka mentioned in the *BrahmavaivartaP* (4.133.23-4; cf. *pañca pañcarātrāni*, in 4.90.4), namely Vāsiṣṭha, Nāradīya, Kāpila, Gautamīya, and Sānatkumārīya (probably Saṃhitās), into *sapta-vidha* by adding Brāhma and Śaiva to the five. It may have been written about the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D.[72] In this way, all these four Saṃhitās are among the latest additions to the Pāñcarātra literature.

Summary

As the result of the foregoing investigations, we may be able to present an approximate chronological list[73] of our Saṃhitās, although it is still rough and tentative, especially as regards the later ones. In the following table, when titles are juxtaposed, their order is considered uncertain. The *ViṣnuS* may be a little earlier, and the *Śeṣa* perhaps later.

A.D.	*ca*	
	400	Nārāyaṇīya
	500	Sātvata, Pauṣkara
		Jayākhya
	600	Ahirbudhnya
	700	Parama
	800	Sanatkumāra

	Nāradīya, Pārameśvara, LakṣmīT,
	Viṣvaksena, Viṣṇu, Pādma, Śeṣa (?)
1300	Īśvara, Śrīpraśna, Viśvāmitra,
	Brahma, Śāṇḍilya, Aniruddha
1600	Bṛhadbrahma, NāradaPR

We are now able to decide at least the earliest group of the extant Saṃhitās, which includes the *Parama*. This group of texts will furnish basic information to our further discussion. But whenever it is necessary, we shall utilize the later texts as well, beginning with the *SanatkS*.

2. General Themes and Contents in the Main Saṃhitās

The extant Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, being generally included in the Āgama literature, would be expected to consist of the four *pādas: jñāna-* (knowledge), *yoga-* (concentration), *kriyā-* (action), and *caryā-* (performance).[74] But as can easily be seen from the tables of contents of the printed editions, their main concerns lie in the practical part, *kriyā-pāda* and *caryā-pāda*, even from the time of the earliest Saṃhitās. They elaborate mainly on *mantra, yantra, maṇḍala, mudrā*, the construction of temples and images, the rules of rituals beginning with *dīkṣā* and *abhiṣeka*, and so forth.[75]

From among these topics, we may take *mantras* as a typical example. They are clearly of utmost importance, simply because they are indispensable in each and every ritual of the cult. We can observe this in a passage of the *SanatkS*:

pañcarātre tathā mantrā, mantreṣv artho viśiṣyate /
artheṣv apy upadeśaś ca, nopadeśāt paraṃ tataḥ //
(Brahma 10.54; also see JS 5.31-46, AS 1.68, PS 6.3)

These *mantras* are also said to promote the devotee's *bhakti* (PS 24.13, VS 29.60).[76] It is probably for this reason

that the *Sātvata* and *Jayākhya* devote about one third of the entire volume to the explanation of *mantras*; for instance, JS chapters 6-7, 11, 19 & 26-32. This is likewise the case with the *Ahirbudhnya*, chapters 16-9, 21-2, 34-5 & 51-9. The tendency to expatiate upon *mantras* seems to have been an essential feature of the earliest Saṃhitās.

In the later texts, however, attention is focused on practical rituals, with the addition of extra ceremonies[77] for which no systematic explanation is afforded in the *Pauṣkara, Sātvata, Jayākhya* and *Ahirbudhnya*. It is with these topics of religious praxis that the later Saṃhitās are almost wholly occupied. Accordingly, these texts may be regarded as manuals of ritual for Vaiṣṇava initiates (JS 33.86). *Ācāryas*, we read, must be *pāñcarātra-vidhāna-jña*,[78] and are enjoined to remember God especially by means of *pañcarātra*.[79] Their each and every action must accord with the scriptural injunctions.[80]

It is such texts that were known to Yāmuna, who in his *Āgamaprāmāṇya* wrote as follows:

> pañcarātra-tantra-vihita-mārgeṇa prāsādakaraṇa-pratimā-pratiṣṭhāpana-praṇāma-pradakṣiṇotsavādīni ... anutiṣṭhataḥ śiṣṭān paśyāmaḥ ...
>
> (p. 69, lines 4-7; cf. p.4, lines 14-5)

Also compare ŚBh on 2.2.42, p. 702, lines 9-10 and p. 705. These scriptures are said to be the only *sādhana* to *parama-niḥśreyasa*,[81] i.e., to *mokṣa*[82] or to God.[83] That is to say, they prescribe *bhagavad-ārādhana* (Āg p. 2, lines 2-3; *ibid.*; ŚPS 1.52-3).

It appears also to be the liturgical portion of the Pāñcarātra that first received attention in ancient Cambodia even before the seventh century A.D. In the Baset Stele inscription of Jayavarman I (*ca* A.D. 650), reference is made to *pañcarātrārcā, pañca-yajña*, and *pañcakāla*.[84]

The term *pañca-yajña*[85] is usually juxtaposed with *pañca-kāla*. This *pañca-kāla*, the famous daily observances consisting of five parts (*abhigamana, upādāna, ijyā, svādhyāya*, and *yoga*), has been regarded as one of the most essential religious practices of the *Pāñcarātrikas*,[86] inasmuch as it is already mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya[87] and is expounded in many later Saṃhitās, beginning with the *Jayākhya*.[88]

Consequently, in devoting their greatest attention to liturgy, the extant Saṃhitās have little in the way of theology—or one may call it philosophy, in the sense that, in India, philosophy is almost always directed toward *mokṣa*. On the other hand, in view of the description given in the *Pārameśvara*, the Saṃhitā literature may well have had at one time a large portion of Vaiṣṇava theology. The extant text is divided into two well-known *kāṇḍas, jñāna-* and *kriyā-* (1.91 & 95), and in presenting a synopsis of its contents uses fourteen *ślokas* for that of the first *kāṇḍa* (1.95-109), whereas only four for the second (1.110-3) (also cf. 10.347-56). In addition, it declares (1.93) that the text is written in 16,000 *ślokas*, yet the printed edition has about one half this number, a total of little more than 8,700.

This means that the *jñāna-kāṇḍa*, consisting of some 7,300 *ślokas*, has been lost altogether, except for its opening chapter, which must already have happened before the time of Nṛsiṃhasūri, a commentator on the text who flourished about A.D. 1750.[89]

Since the *Pārameśvara* is, as already noticed, an elaborate, exegetical work upon the *Pauṣkara*, the theological portion of the latter may also have been lost. This consideration can be ascertained the point in the following way. In the *Pārameśvara* (10.213-22), there is given a table of

contents of the *Pauṣkara*. As far as the topics of the practical ritualistic portion are concerned, the description accords with the extant *Pauṣkara*. For instance, *maṇḍalas*, beginning with Bhadra (10.216), are treated in *PauS* 5th chapter, nine *cakras* and *padmas* (217) in the 8th, *nava-nābha* and various *bimbas* (219) in the 11th through 19th, and *kuṇḍa* (220) in the 29th. But, for the Vyūhas, including Sub-Vyūhas, and for the Vibhavas with sub-divisions, both of which are listed in the first two lines of the *PMS* passage (10.213-4), corresponding chapters are not found in the present text of the *PauS* that refers to the Vyūhas as though they are already explained:

vyūha-sthāgama-mantrāṇāṃ *prāg uktānām* ... // (6.81)
bhagavan! ... tvayā / ... vyūha-bhedas tu *sūtritaḥ* // (7.1)

As the Pāñcarātra theology is usually expounded in those chapters which immediately follow the opening of the Saṃhitā texts, the abrupt beginning of the printed *PauS* strongly suggests that its theological portion has been lost. This may also be the case with the *SanatkS*, which has lost the opening three chapters as it now stands. There are still other later Saṃhitā texts of this kind such as the *Viṣvaksena*.

According to *Pārameśvara* 1.95-108, the important subjects of theology in the Pāñcarātra are the following:

1. Essential nature (*sva-rūpa*) of God
2. His six supreme qualities (*ṣāḍguṇya*), beginning with *jñāna* (96), and such other *guṇas* as *kīrti*, etc.
3. The first Vyūha, Vāsudeva (97), and the other three, i.e., Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha
4. Creation, preservation and destruction of the worlds
5. Sub-Vyūhas (98-100)

6. The Vibhavas and secondary manifestations
7. Essential form of Lakṣmī (and Puṣṭi[90]) (101)
8. Essential form of *jīvātman*, divided into *mukta*, *amukta*, and *ubhaya*, and the goal (*gati*) of each state.

These topics are at times noted in the earlier Saṃhitās. For instance, No. 1 is in PauS 38.309,[91]

sad-āgamākhyaṃ mūlaṃ tu parabrahma-prakāśakam/ (cf. 38.306)

No. 4, in PS 1.45 and 31.19,

sṛṣṭi-saṃhāra-saṃyu(k)tam

No. 8, also in PS 31.19,

mukti-saṃsāra-saṃyuktaṃ jñānam

and so forth. *Jayākhya* chapters 2-5, *Parama* 1-2, 26.63ff., and 30, as well as *ViṣṇuS* 3-4 expound most of these eight subjects in one way or another. However, a far more detailed and systematic exposition of them all is to be found in *Ahirbudhnya* chapters 2-7 and 14, which seem to be enlarged upon in *LakṣmīT* chapters 2 through 17. Although their source is possibly referred back to the *Sātvata* (cf. AS 5.59, LT 2.59, 11.28, 49.145), this old esteemed Saṃhitā does not offer any detailed systematic account of them at all. Elsewhere in other earlier Saṃhitās, only brief references to the above eight topics will be found in the course of the description of rituals.

There is a good deal of agreement in the treatment of these subjects between our Saṃhitās and two of the Śrīvaiṣṇava texts:[92] the *Tattvatraya* by Pillai Lokācārya of the Teṅgalai school, who was a senior contemporary of Vedāntadeśika, and the *Yatīndramatadīpikā* by Śrīnivāsa of the Vaḍagalai school. To cite one example, with regard to the concept of God in the Pāñcarātra, all of His five forms (*mūrti-pañcaka*, SDS 4.297-8, on p. 119-20), that is

(1) Para, (2) Vyūha, (3) Vibhava, (4) Antaryāmin, and (5) Arcā,[93] are taken over and fully elucidated, in the former work on pp. 85-142, and in the latter on pp. 83-9. Further, similar expositions will be found of the highest heaven, of the creation theory, and of the classification of *jīvas*. Now, there is an excellent commentary on the *Tattvatraya*, written by Varavaramuni, a disciple of Pillai Lokācārya.[94] According to this commentary, the descriptions contained in the *Tattvatraya*, are evidently based upon those of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā texts, and there Varavara copiously quotes from the *Viṣvaksena*, which was also known to *Vedāntadeśika*.[95] Furthermore, the quotations from *Ahirbudhnya* 5.17-57, found on pp. 124-7 and 134-5,[96] are important, for they prove that the fifth chapter of this Saṃhitā is not a later interpolation composed in imitation of the Śrīvaiṣṇava doctrine. In addition, the three well-known *padārthas* of the Śrīvaiṣṇava, namely *acit*, *cit*, and *Īśvara*,[97] seem to be already established in the *Jayākhya* under the name of *tattva-traya* (JS 16.12), consisting of *pradhāna*, *puruṣa*, and *īśvara* (see JS 6.248, 16.13, and cf. AS 54.40-7). These are the very subjects that are elucidated in the *Tattvatraya*[98] by Pillai Lokācārya.

For the reasons mentioned above, we may draw the following conclusion. The theological portion of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, which was destined to be adopted by the Śrīvaiṣṇava philosophy, came to be regarded as inessential and was consequently lost when the latter was established, and thereafter the main concern of the Pāñcarātrikas was directed to practical liturgy alone. The general contents of the extant Saṃhitās would further suggest that "Pāñcarātra" or "Pāñcarātrika" was in all probability a name given to a liturgical school, that is to

say, one concerned with religious *praxis*, in much the same way as "Sāṃkhya", "Yoga" and "Vedānt", or "Mīmāṃsaka", "Naiyāyika" and "Vaiśeṣika" are names given to the philosophical schools of India, those concerned with *theoria*. And finally, since there is evidence that the Saṃhitās existed already by A.D. 500 as an elaborate liturgical canon, the so-called Pāñcarātra cult, or the Pāñcarātrikas who compiled the *Ratna-traya*, had their own history long before the pre-Gupta period.

REFERENCES

1. See Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 3-14; Krishnamacharya's *Intro.* to the *LT* edition, pp. 10-3; Bibliography of MSS in the *JS* edition, pp. 73-5. A title list of 108 Saṃhitās is in PdS 1.1.98-116 and VMS 2.16-33.
2. Translated into English (SBH 23). For its contents, see Roussel, "Étude"; Bhandarkar, *VŚ*, pp. 40-1.
3. See Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 94ff. and Dasgupta, *HIPh*, Vol. 3, pp. 34-62. For an English condensation of its contents, see Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 99-146. For its Sāṃkhyan theory, see Dasgupta, *HIPh*, Vol. 4, pp. 36-45; Gonda, *MRL*, p. 116; and also Ramakrishna Rao, *Pre-classical Sāṁkhya* (pp. 345-67) which gives a brief comparison with the *ŚvetUp.* pp. 382-7.
4. For its 4th and 30th chapters, see Dasgupta, *HIPh*, Vol. 3, pp. 31-2.
5. Cf. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-31.
6. For its 10th chapter, see *op. cit.*, pp. 32-4.
7. See Raghavan, *JAOS*, 85, pp. 77-9.
8. The last edition was published in 1902. A brief description of the first two chapters is given in Bhandarkar, *VŚ*, pp. 39-40. Schrader translated SS 2.2-12, 5.9-21, and 9.90ff. in his *Intro.*, pp. 149-54.
9. In addition to these twenty the following editions in Devanagari are reported, but I have not seen them:
   21. Agastya-s. (Lucknow, 1898)
   22. Bṛhadbrahma-s. (Benares, 1906)

23. Bhāradvāja-s. (Bombay, 1905)
(Madras, 1912)
(Calcutta, 1922)
24. Kāśyapa-s. (Triplicane, 1933)
25. Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra
Only Ādi- kāṇḍa in two parts. (Rajshahi, 1952/57)
Cf. Smith, *Iconography*, pp. 298-306 and *Descriptive Bibliography*, Vol. 1, q.v.; Gonda, *MRL*, pp. 87ff. Also see Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

10. Nor is the title given to Nārāyaṇa in the *MNUp.*
11. Cf. Preface of the *Sp* edition; Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 18. He is a different personality from the eminent scholar Utpaladeva of Kashmir Śaivism; cf. Chaterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp. 13, 16, 38 & 40. However, S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Classical Period, Vol. I (University of Calcutta, 1962), pp. 661-2 seems confounded.
12. PRR p. 47.7, PMS 1.19, 10.376, ĪS 1.50, 64 & 67, ŚPS 49.473. Cf. Smith, "Three Gems."
13. E.g., the *PauS* is named in PMS 1.19, 7.256, 8.66, 10.141, 211, 254, 261 & 376, 12.280, ĪS 1.64 & 67, 8.65, 21.576, ŚPS 49.473, AnirS 24.76.
The *SS*: in AS 5.59, 16.85, 20.54, 27.31, 55.33, PMS 1.19, 64 & 89, 7.257, 10.376, ĪS 1.9, 56, 53, 64 & 66, 11.232, 16.4, 20.181, 196, 205, 207 & 222, 21.553-5 & 560, 25.213, LT 2.59, 11.28, 49.145, VMS 2.17, ŚPS 49.473, AnirS 24.76.
The *JS*: in AS 19.64, PMS 1.19, 10.376, ĪS 1.64, ŚPS 49.473. Cf. JS 1, adhika 1-14.
The apparent popularity of the *SS* may have been dependent upon MBh 6.62.39-40: *sātvataṃ vidhim āsthāya gītaḥ saṅkarṣaṇena yaḥ // sa vāsudevaḥ.* ĪS 1.68-71: *sātvatam uttamottamam / vaktā sākṣād īśvaro 'sya, śrotā saṅkarṣaṇaḥ prabhuḥ // ... / ... idaṃ tantraṃ sākṣāt saṅkarṣaṇāc chrutam // saṃpravakṣyāmi.* And also BhP 1.3.8=GP 1.1.16: *devarṣitvam upetya saḥ* (= Hari, 12) / *tantraṃ sātvatam ācaṣṭe ... //.* But in the *MBh* line, the original reference is not necessarily to the extant *SS*. See *infra* chapter III.2, and Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 15-6.
14. The *Sātvata* also appears to make the same reference at least once, judging from the *Īśvara*. ĪS 22.16 mentions the *śāsanaṃ pārameśvaram*, and the beginning part of this chapter of the

ĪS must be a direct quotation from the *SS*, which consists of a dialogue between God and Saṅkarṣaṇa (see ĪS 1.68); cf., *etad eva purā pṛṣṭo devaḥ saṅkarṣaṇena hi /* (ĪS 22.2)

15. For this term, see *infra* chapter III.2. The word *sāttvatam* in PauS 39.18 may be compared with *rājasa-tāmasaḥ* in the preceding line (39.17). As is well-known, the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās are often classified into three groups, *divya, muni-bhāṣita* (or *muni-vākya*), and *pauruṣa*; see SS 22.52-60 (the second being *ārṣeya*), PMS 10.336-76 (cf. ĪS 23.3-50), ĪS 1.54-64, PRR pp. 39ff. According to PMS 10.338-9, the second class *muni-bhāṣita* is further subdivided into three groups, *sāttvika-, rājasa-*, and *tāmasa-śāstras* (also see PMS 10.329-33 & 376-82, ŚPS 29.224-5, ĪS 1.56-63, PRR p. 39.12-7 & pp. 40ff.), and a text called "Pārameśvara" happens to be classified under this *sāttvika* group in PMS 10.378. However, since God Himself is said to be the composer of the original scripture in the Pāñcarātra tradition (see the next note), the *ādya-pārameśvarāgama* in PauS 39.18 cannot be considered as a *sāttvika-śāstra* which is *muni-bhāṣita.*
16. MBh 12.326.100-1, 337.63, AS 11.64-5, 12.44 & 54, PS 1.33 & 44, SanatkS Indra 3.80, LT 1.41-3, PMS 1.60-4; cf. VP 3.2.54, Āg p. 14 2-3, p. 64.5, ŚBh on 2.2.42 (p. 700.9-14, p. 703.13), NM 4 (p. 265.3, *bhagavān viṣṇuḥ praṇetā*).
17. SS 2.11, 3.7, 4.11 & 89, 6.49, 105 & 181, 9.96 (cf. 132), 14.29, 17.108, 23.75, 24.405, 25.122, 156 & 213; PauS 7.2, 19.46, 26.48, *passim*; JS 2.27, 4.3, 8, 70 & 82, *passim*. Also in the later texts, e.g., AS 13.17, 51.47, SanatkS Indra 6.52, LT 11.50, 25.10, 26.34, VS 10.5. Cf. BhG 11.3, 13.27, VP 1.2.28, 30 & 62, 1.4.24, 41 & 47, 6.5.86, *passim.*
18. Cf. *bhagavac-chāstra* (PauS 31.153), or *pārameśvara-vākya* (PMS 10.357, 360 & 371 = ĪS 23.14, 17 & 28 respectively; LT 34.95).
19. For *bhagavad-dharma*, see PauS 30.38, 31.200, JS 1.12 & 40, 22.3 (*-tantra*), LT 1.11, 12 (*-saṃhitā*) & 20, PMS 1.12, 26, 30 & 85. Cf. *bhāgavata dharma* (LT 1.21, PMS 1.21 & 78, ĪS 1.26). For *vaiṣnava-tantra*, see PS 1.33-5, 8.61, 31.23 & 51. For *bhagavaj-jñāna*, see AS 21.28-9, 60.1, LT 12.45. Cf. vaiṣnava-jñāna (JS 1.58, PS 31 53 & 65, VS 11.46).
20. *Intro.*, pp. 16 & 96.
21. *Op. cit.*, p. 96, and Raghavan, Foreword to the *ŚPS* edition,

p. I. Cf. S.Gupta, Intro. to *LT Tr.*, p. xxi & note 2.

22. JS 29.164, 30.39 & 48, 32.32 & 81. Also cf. PauS 40.22 (*bhūrja-vṛkṣa*) in this connection.
23. Gonda, *MRL*, p. 56.
24. Cf. Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 20.
25. Cf. Kirfel, *Pañcalakṣaṇa*, p. 14. 21-2.
26. *Op. cit.*, pp. 39-41, and ŚBh on 2.2.41 (p. 698.2-5). In *SanatkS* Indra 6.27, Saṅkarṣaṇa, and not Pradyumna, is related to *manas*, and in BhP 3.26.23-6, he is equated with *ahaṅkāra*.
27. Cf. Winternitz, *HIL*, Vol. 1, p. 589, note 3; Hazra, *Records*, pp. 23-4, and *UpaP*, Vol. 1, p. 205, note 228.
28. See Note I.14 above. For Śvetadvīpa, see Clark, *JAOS*, 39, pp. 209-42; Rönnow, *BSOS*, 5, pp. 253-84. K 9.4.19 ff.
29. SS 7.9, 12.170, 16.10, 19.2, 21.23, 25 & 46, 22.3, 25-6 & 40, 24.433; PauS 20.111, 25.3, 27.27 & 129, 31.297, 32.107, 36.256, 38.71 & 144, 41.65; JS 1.58, 16.307, 313, 316-7 & 342, 17.58, 20.383, 21.79, 96, 98-100 & 106, 22.1-62 *passim*, 23.15, 19, 22, 91 & 155, 24.71, 25.1, 12, 37, 91 & 103, 27.218, 28.117, 32.84, 33.1.
30. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 115; Jaiswal, *Origin*, pp. 30 & 51. Cf. H 3.135.3-4, which is also discarded in the Poona Critical Edition, and K 3.3.4.
31. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins*, pp. clxiii, ccvii, 198-9 & 202-3. Cf. Shastri, *India in BṛhatS*, p. 129.
32. Banerjea, *Development*, pp. 52-3; Goswami, *Study*, pp. 18ff. Cf. BhP 5.1.6. K 6.1.12 refers to *parama-saugata*.
33. For similarity in teaching between *BhG* and Saṃhitās, cf. Gonda, *MRL*, pp. 113-4.
34. Foreword to the *JS* edition, pp. 26-34.
35. See Gonda, *MRL*, pp. 53-4.
36. For Ahirbudhnya, see Note I.44 of my Translation. Also cf. Durvāsas as the narrator, and see Note I.16 of my Tr. For other possible Śivaite influence, see Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 63-4, 90, 111 & 115, note 3.
37. For Rudra-Śiva who at times appears as a secondary incarnation in the earliest texts (e.g., PauS 36.225 & 422, JS 2.17), see BhG 10.23.
38. See below our chapter III, where the name *ekāntin* is discussed. Cf. PauS 36.422, for *vyāmiśra-yājin* (36.429, 38.46ff.).
39. E.g., LT 1.42, 40.119, 57.53.

40. In the *AS*, the word *ātman* more frequently refers to *jīva*; typically in AS 6.33-8. Also cf. JS 6.226.
41. For a similar compound, see SanatkS Indra 5.63.
42. It might appear strange that the *PauS* mentions the term *bhāgavata* three times, in 8.137, 36.409, and 38.42; the first occurrence is dubious because of text corruption. But, in both passages, 36.409-11 and 38.41-4, its usage seems to involve a curious irony. Especially in the latter passage, the Bhāgavatas are referred to merely under the head of *anukalpa* (subordinate rules). The explanation of *mukhya-kalpa* (principal rules) is intended explicitly for the Pāñcarātrikas; so is in 38.28, and also cf. *pañcakāla-jña* (31), *caturvyūha-paratva* (32), *pañcakāla-rata, tantrasiddhānta-pāraga* (35), etc.
43. Nārada's *namaḥ-stuti* for Ahirbudhnya in AS 1.33-6 is apparently taken from MNUp 277-82. The Nārāyaṇīya (cf. AS 47.9, 49.4, 53.73) and BhG 11 (cf. AS 44.31) must have been known. The story of Kāśīrāja in AS 42.35-40 seems to presuppose the full story narrated in VP 5.34.4-44. Amarakośa 1.4.11 is quoted in AS 4.7 (see Note IV.10 of my Translation).
44. A possible objection to this dating of the *Parama* after the *AS* is the absence of any mention of Mahāviṣṇu in the *PS*. However, in the *AS* Mahāviṣṇu appears only in the interpretation of the Narasiṃha *mantra*, as we shall see in the next paragraph. The *PS* certainly refers to the *mantra* (16.8-18), but does not give the constituent words. Thus in the *PS* the reference to Mahāviṣṇu must be left out.
45. PS 3.36, 38, 51, 57 & 69-70, 4.15 & 57, 18.30, 19.53, 25.23, 27.30, 34 & 42, 30.71 & 123.
46. PS 1.33, 3.32, 52 & 94, 4.72, 74 & 86, *passim*; esp., cf. 19.48 and 31.33; *vaiṣṇavatva*, 23.58, 29.33, 31.48.
47. E.g., SanatkS Brahma 5.60 & 133, 7.195, Ṛṣi 4.60 & 64, 8.115.
48. E.g., Brahma 4.32-3, 60 & 79, 5.88, 6.62-3, 86 & 184, 10.11, Ṛṣi 6.28, 8.120-1.
49. AS 23.30-5 & 50-1, 54.11, 14 & 27-8, 55.6. The *PauS* and *SS* both in the chapter 17th ascribe an important part to this Avatāra (also see *nava-mūrti*, in 10.3-6 & 8), but never mentions the word *mahāviṣṇu*; nor does the *JS* anywhere in the chapter 29.
50. Also see H 3.111.8, 3.131.1 for Kṛṣṇa; both sections are discarded in the Poona Critical Edition. Further cf. VS 1.41, 3.37 & 43, 6.21, 13.60, 27.79, 29.100, etc., Āg p. 42.22.

51. E.g., SanatkS Brahma 4.46, 5.47, 114 & 135, 6.139-40, Indra 6.1-2 & 83, Ṛṣi 1.72, 3.93 & 113-7, 8.137. For the *VS* references, see the above Note.
52. Cf. Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 97-9, and Winternitz, *HIL*, Vol. 1, p. 589, note 3.
53. Eggeling, *IA*, 3, 1874, pp. 305-6; *parama-bhagavato layane mahāviṣṇu-gṛham*, in line 9 of Transliteration. Also cf. Agrawala, *Bṛihatkathā*, p. 307 [VarāhaP Ch. IV].
54. Smith, "Relevance"; M. Narasimhachary, Intro. to Smith, *Iconography*, p. xxxi, and Āg *ed.* (GOS 160), p. 163 note.
55. ĪS 17.92-299 is probably taken from SS 24.91-273. Further, cf. e.g.,

ĪS	20.19-21cd	=	PauS	36.303-6ab
	23-66ab	=		307cd-50
	66cd-110	=		351cd-95
ĪS	24.130-3	=	SS	5.22-7
	142-6	=		82-92
	197-9	=		12.6-8ab
	201-376	=		9-184

Two more examples from the *PauS* will be given shortly.

56. E.g.,

ĪS	1.54-63	=	PMS 10.336-45
	64cd-5ab	=	376cd-7ab
	8.1-64	=	8.1-64ab
	66-170ab	=	67-173ab
	171-2	=	175cd-7ab
	9.3cd-43ab	=	11.3-42
	43cd-74	=	48-79ab
	75-81ab	=	80cd-6
	84cd-296ab	=	87-298
	298-335ab	=	301-38
	14.202cd-3	=	12.357-8ab
	204-20	=	397-421ab
	229	=	421cd-2ab
	230-1ab	=	423cd-4
	232-3ab	=	425-6ab
	21.560cd-86	=	19.523-49
	23.4-31ab	=	10.347-74ab
	31cd-3	=	383cd-5
	34-50	=	317cd-34ab

57. E.g., ĪS 1.57, 9.43, 21.565, 23.15 & 26 to be compared with PMS 10.339, 11.42, 19.527, 10.358 & 369, respectively.
58. E.g., ĪS 23.11, 14, 30 & 41 to be compared with PMS 10.354, 357, 373 & 385 respectively.
59. This is the case specifically with stems ending in *a*: e.g., *vipra* (*passim*), *dvija-śreṣṭha* (ĪS 1.59: PMS 10.341), *muni-puṅgava* (ĪS 9.170 & 290 : PMS 11.172 & 292), *viprendra* (ĪS 9.190 : PMS 11.192), *muni-sattama* (ĪS 9.220 : PMS 11.223), *dvija-sattama* (ĪS 9.247 : PMS 11.249), and so forth. All these words are plural in the ĪS, while in the PMS singular.
60. Thus PMS 11.43-7 is clearly an interpolation. Yāmuna's reference to *Śāṇḍilya-vacanam* could be from the *PMS*.
61. Schrader suggested a possibility of two Īśvara-saṃhitās (*Intro.*, pp. 21-2). Also cf. Smith, "Relevance", p. 17 and *Descriptive Biblio.*, Vol. 1, p. 85.
62. Mostly from *LT* 17th chapter. See *RTS* translation, pp. 116-555 *passim*.
63. Also in the *Viṣvaksena*, cf. TT comm. p. 129, line 17. The *Śeṣa* may have been written before Vedāntadeśika, for perhaps he quotes it at least twice in his *RTS* (pp. 6 & 578).
64. Foreword to the *ŚPS* edition, pp. G-H.
65. Intro. to the *ŚPS* edition, pp. lxxxx-lxxxxvi; quotations from the *Yogatattva* (pp. lxiv-lxvi); other verbal reproductions from the *BhG*, *BhP*, and Kālidāsa (Raghavan's Foreword, pp. k-l).
66. Cf. the vocative *lāṅgalin*, in ĪS 16.178, 251, 263 & 299. This is an epithet of Saṅkarṣaṇa, to whom God expounds the Pāñcarātra doctrine in the *SātvataS*.
67. The editor's Intro., pp. lxvii-lxxxix.
68. Cf. Raghavan's Foreword, p. I.
69. VS 3.43: Sadāviṣṇu as the Para form of Viṣṇu. Further, see Note 46 above.
70. The following table gives one example:

VS	4.38-42	=	PS	2.58-62
	43-4	=		64-5
	45	vs		101cd-2ab
	46	=		106
	47	=		114
	48	vs		115
	49	=		3.5cd-6ab
	50-1ab	vs		9-10ab

51cd-2ab	=	8
52cd	=	12ab
53-6ab	vs	12cd-7
56cd	=	19ab
58cd-9ab	=	37
59cd	=	39ab
11.2	vs	8.5cd-6ab
3	vs	7cd-8ab
56cd-8ab	=	61cd-3ab
29.28ab	=	12.14ab
30ab	=	12ab
53cd-60	vs	24.3cd-30
30.27-9ab	vs	30.75-7ab
33cd-42ab	vs	93-104ab

71. Cf. e.g., JS 2.14, 6.122, PauS 36.330, AS 1.64, 5.55, 42.37, 44.32, 56.4, SanatkS Indra 5.27.
72. Bhandarkar, *VŚ*, p. 41; Intro. to *SBH* 23, p. ii; Winternitz, *HIL*, Vol. 1, p. 591.
73. Cf. Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 20; Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 195 note 6; V. Rangachari in *CHI*, IV, p. 165.
74. LT 51.2-3, VS 1.34, and Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 22.
75. AS 12.44-8 (cf. Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 112), PMS 1.100-13, 10.213-22 & 347ff., VS 1.46-50, ŚeṣaS pp. 2-4, ŚPS 2.43-6. Cf. Gonda, *MRL*, pp. 57ff. & p. 3ff.
76. Also cf. J. Gonda, "The Indian Mantra", *Selected Studies* IV, Leiden, 1975, pp. 281-2; Harvey P. Alper (ed.), *Mantra*, Albany, 1989, esp. pp. 224ff.
77. E.g., *yātra* (cf. PS chapter 22 & 25) and *utsava* (PS 19.65, 21.39, 22.6ff., 27.54, VS chapter 20, PMS 7.387-403, chapter 17, ĪS chapters 10-4, ŚPS chapters 29-48). The earlier texts use the words only in passing (cf. e.g., JS 16.318, 20.384).
78. AS 20.4. Also see JS 18.77, PS 27.33 &46, LT 21.31, VS 11.62, 27.74.
79. PS 8.63, VS 11.58; cf. Āg p. 66.8-9.
80. For the Bhāgavata *samaya* and *ācāra*, see PS 3.36ff, 8.62 = VS 11.57. Also see LT 12.22, 27.34. For the expression of *śāstra-vidhinā* and so forth, see JS 6.201, 18.14-5, AS 27.31, PS 1.85, 8.12, 24 & 57, 20.5, 22.69, 30.5, PMS 19.550, ŚeṣaS 1.6, VS 16.7 & 24, 17.70, *et passim*.
81. Āg p. 1.11, p. 14.2-3, p. 46.6-8. Also see PauS 38.309, AS 13.22,

PS 1.46, ŚBh on 2.2.39, p. 659.1-2.
82. AS 11.64, PMS 1.18, ŚPS 1.52-3, 2.42.
83. ŚeṣaS 1.5, VarāhaP 66.19; cf. ŚBh on 2.2.42, p. 700.9-14.
84. Bhattacharya, *JGIS*, 14, pp. 111-2; -do, *Religions brahmaniques*, p. 98.
85. MBh 12.324.28, 325.4 [Nos. 57-8]; LT 17.13, 27.36.
86. Śaṅkara and Brahma-s 2.2.42 (p. 494.13-5), Āg p. 75.23-4, p. 76.2-3, p. 85.15-6, PRR pp. 47-168, SDS 4.258 ff. (p. 117). Cf. Govindacarya, *JRAS*, 1911, p. 948; De, *Aspects*, pp. 54-6; Jaiswal, *Origin*, p. 142; Gonda, *MRL*, p. 72; VDhUp 1.61-5.
87. MBh 12.323.42, 324.28, 325.4 (No. 58). Also see PauS 27.168, 172 & 638, 32.14, 36.71, 38.31.
88. JS 16.9, 22.28 & 65-74, AS 15.8, 15 & 49, SanatkS Ṛṣi 1.1-14, NS 30.1-21, PMS 1.21, LT 17.13, 21.31, 27.26, 28.1-59, ŚPS chapter 17; cf. VDhUp 1.6.40, 1.61-5 *passim*. Cf. ŚBh on 2.2.42.
89. The Sanskrit Intro. to the *PMS* edition, p. 1: *jñāna-kāṇḍasya luptatvāt*.
90. This goddess may not be so highly regarded as Lakṣmī in the earlier Saṃhitās, except for the *SātvataS* (q.v. Index, p. 677) to which references are made by AS 5.59 and LT 11.28.
91. ŚPS 1.16 & 23, Āg p. 31.5-6, ŚBh on 2.2.42, p. 704.2-3.
92. See Notes of my Translation of the AS, especially chapters 6-7 (e.g., VI.63ff.; VII.1 & 2, 20, 23ff., 52, & c.).
93. See Note 1.7 of my Translation.
94. Dasgupta, *HIPh*, Vol. 3, p. 137. He is also called Saumya Jāmātṛ Muni (junior).
95. *RTS* translation, pp. 155, 190, 358 & 577.
96. P. 124, lines 15-7 = AS 5.33-4ab; lines 21-2 = AS 5.19cd-20ab; p. 125, line 9 = AS 5.17ab; p. 126, line 5 = AS 5.17cd; p. 127, line 15 vs AS 5.18ab; p. 134, lines 27-8, and p 135, lines 1-13 = AS 5.56-7ab.
97. SDS 4.33-6, cf. ŚvetUp 1.12, and Gonda, *MRL*, p. 4.
98. TT p. 3.8-9 reads, *mumukṣoś cetanasya mokṣotpattau tattva-traya-jñānam apekṣitaṃ, tattva-trayaṃ cid acid īśvaraś ca /*

CHAPTER THREE

EARLY PĀÑCARĀTRIKAS, THE MONOTHEIST

An investigation concerning the names that were given to followers of the Pañcarātra system is now in order. Employment of the derivative forms of *pañcarātra*, such as *pañcarātrin* and *pāñcarātrika*, as well as of its compounds is considerably so rare in our earliest texts[1] that there must have been some other short and convenient names by which those sectarians were designated. As we have already mentioned, the extant Saṃhitās, even the earliest, profusely use the term *vaiṣṇava* for those devotees. Therefore, the Nārāyaṇīya section, in which that term never occurs, may be examined for the older sectarian names. According to the evidence of this epic section, two terms must have been predominant; *ekāntin* and *sāt[t]vata*.

1. *Ekāntin*

It is evident from the already cited passage, namely :

pañcarātram...ekāntināṃ dharmaḥ/ (MBh 12.336.76), that an old sectarian name given to the devotees of *pañcarātra* was *ekāntin*. This designation is frequently used in the Nārāyaṇīya and also in the later Saṃhitās.[2] It seems, moreover, that the term was employed to indicate not only their monotheistic doctrine, but also their attitude of worshipping God.

As far as its ordinary usage is concerned, the word *ekānta*, of which *ekāntin* is a derivative,[3] means a "one-sided", or absolute, exclusive way of doing something "by oneself", for instance, worship in this case. This usage is found in BhG 6.16,

yogo 'sti na caikāntam anaśnataḥ /

in MBh 12.336.69,

sāṃkhya-yogena tulyo hi dharma ekānta-sevitaḥ/

in compounds like:

ekānta-bhāva

(MBh 12.322.4, 323.24, 332.18, 337.67, LT 1.54)

ekānta-śīla (MBh 1.32.4. 14.19.18, LT 48.13)

and *ekānta-gata-buddhi* (MBh 12.326.96, 331.50).

It is clear from the contexts in which the last three compounds are found that the word *ekānta* signifies the exclusive, monotheistic way of worshipping God which the *ekāntins* are supposed to observe. One may infer this from the following lines:

ekānta-bhaktiḥ satataṃ nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇaḥ //
(MBh 12.336.66)

...jñānam *ekānta*-nirmalam/...//tena tat (=brahma) prāpyate vipra!, anyathā durlabhaṃ bhavet/ (JS 5.2-3)

ekānta-siddhir hariḥ // (VP 6.8.54)

... bhagavat-prāptir *ekāntātyantikī* matā// (VP 6.5.59)

It is just such an exclusive, monotheistic attitude that is found everywhere in the early Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās. They admit only one God and regard Him as the Supreme:

nāsti tasmāt parataraṃ puruṣād vai sanātanāt/
(MBh 12.326.30)

ekaḥ paro devaḥ (JS 4.117, 25.63, PS 3.94, VS 3.2 & 49)

parāt parataraḥ (JS 2.7, VS 3.42)

īśvarāt tu paraṃ tattvaṃ tattva-grāme na vidyate/
(JS 16.272)

tattvātītah paraḥ (NS 1.25-8)

They enjoin the worship of God in an absolute, devotional way:

na saḥ śakyas tvabhaktena draṣṭuṃ devaḥ kathaṃcana /
(MBh 12.323.48)

ekāgrāś cintayeyur mām (MBh 12.326.18)

ananya-dhī (SS 25.41)

muktvā tvām eva bhagavan! na namāmy arcayāmi ca//

na tarpayāmi sarveśa! nānyam āvāhayāmy aham /
(PauS 27.107-8)

nārāyaṇaika-niṣṭha (JS 22.4), -citta (JS 25.18)

Abundant evidence of this religious attitude is furnished by our middle group of the Saṃhitās, namely, the *Parama* and *SanatkS*, and also by the *Nāradīya*. To cite a few examples:[4]

puruṣottamam evaikaṃ dhyāyantas tat-parāyaṇāḥ //
(PS 1.23)

dhyātavyo bhagavān eva nānyo, viśvasya kāraṇāt //
(PS 3.40)

viṣṇum eva upāsīta (PS 12.66, cf. 17.31)

nānyaṃ prapaśyāmi, taṃ vinā puruṣottamam/
(PS 17.37, 30.64)

viṣṇum eva sadā dhyāyan ... (SanatkS Indra 8.57)

anya-dīkṣā-parāṅmukhaḥ (SanatkS Indra 8.60)

ekānta-cintā deve, nānya-cintā kadācana//
(SanatkS Ṛṣi 3.111)

vāsudevaika-yājin (NS 1.1)
ananya-deva-bhakta (NS 25.225)
viṣṇum eva yajet (NS 29.27)
nānyaṃ devaṃ namaskuryād arcayed vā kadācana / (NS 11.73)

In the *Parama*, not to read *para-tantra*s is regarded as one of the Bhāgavata *samaya*s (3.43), for it is often emphasized that the ultimate object, *aikāntika hita*, could not be found in the sacred texts of other schools.[5] According to the *LakṣmīT*, *mokṣa* can be attained only by means of the *jñānaṃ vāsudevaika-viṣayam* (15.11-2).

Among the earliest Saṃhitās, however, two of the *Sātvata* chapters (24.287ff. & 25.53ff.) refer to *ekāyana vipra*s of the Vedas, while in the *Pauṣkara* the word *ekāyana* is applied to the name of mantras (PauS 27.210; 42.147, 188 & 190) as well as the group of Brahmins (PauS 36.260; 42.12, 125 & 179) who are also *ekāntin*s (36.259-61). The *Jayākhya* 20.269 mentions the mantras of *ekāyanīya śākhā* as utmost sacred (*parama-pāvana*). But, only in the later Saṃhitās, there are found references to the *ekāyana-veda*, a specific term given to the original scripture of the Pāñcarātrikas.[6] It is explained as *paratattvaika-saṃśraya* or *vāsudevaika-gocara* (PMS 1.33, ĪS 1.20 & 22), and is said to be preserved by those who are *vāsudevaika-niṣṭha* and *devatāntara-varjita* (PMS 1.44-5 & 53, ĪS 23.37). One may also compare,

mokṣāyanāya vai panthā etad-anyo na vidyate/ (PMS 1.57 = ĪS 1.19 & 21.534; cf. AnirS 1.32)

Consequently, all the points discussed above tend to indicate that both the basic Pañcarātra doctrine and the way of worshipping God were suitable to be termed *ekānta*.[7] The word found in JS 3.18 and 20.231 can be taken in this sense, and *ekānta-dharma* in MBh 12.336.4 is to be compared with MBh 12.336.76 quoted before and with PMS 1.85:

bhagavad-dharma ekāntibhir anuṣṭhitaḥ (cf. PS 31.31)

Among our earliest texts, this usage rapidly increases in the *Parama*,[8] which we have already referred to as closely connected with the *Nārāyaṇīya*.

The *ekāntin*s, then, were those who devoted themselves to an exclusive monotheistic worship of God, and this exclusiveness was their all-important characteristic. Compare the following passages:

ekāntinaḥ... *ananya-devatāḥ*/aham eva gatis teṣām... (MBh 12.328.30)
na ca māṃ te dadṛśire, na ca drakṣyati kaścana/
ṛte hy ekāntika-śreṣṭhāt... //
(MBh 12.326.12; cf.12.323.48-9, 326.96, BhG 11.47-54)
ekāntinas sutattva-sthā *dehāntān nānya-yājinaḥ* /
kartavyatvena ye viṣṇuṃ saṃyajanti phalaṃ vinā //
(PauS 36.261)
ekāntino sadā brahma-dhyāyino yoginaḥ/.../.../
...dvādaśākṣara[9]-cintakaḥ // (VP 1.6.38-9)
ekāntino mudā-yuktā *viṣṇu-bhakti-parāyaṇāḥ*/ (PS 31.30; cf. BhG 5.17, 9.34)
parama-puruṣam evāśritā ekāntinaḥ, anye kṣudra-daivatikāḥ (Āg p. 71, line 3)
yo mokṣa-phalena sākaṃ phalāntarāny api bhagavataḥ evecchati, *sa ekāntī devatāntara-śūnyaḥ*/
(Yp. 77, lines 72-3; cf. MBh12, Cr. Ed., No. 888, p. 1930)

They are regarded as the best of the *Viṣṇu-bhakta*s (MBh 12.328.30, cf. BhG 7.16-7).

Cf. ananya-śaraṇāḥ bhaktāḥ jñeyās te vaiṣṇavottamāḥ/ (NS 11.29)

According to the *BhP*, the Bhāgavatas are *ekāntin*s as well:

parama-bhāgavatā ekāntino Bhagavati (BhP 6.9.39)
ekāntināḥ Bhagavataḥ (BhP 7.1.15 & 33, 7.6.27, 7.10.11)
ekāntino ... Bhagavat-prapannāḥ (BhP 8.3.20)

The *Sātvata* explicitly prohibits the mixed ways of worshipping God:

sāṅkaryeṇa viṇā tv evaṃ kṛtaṃ bhavati siddhi-dam//
anyathā 'siddhi-daṃ viddhi nṛṇāṃ vyāmiśra-yājinām/
(SS 25.288-9) (also cf. JS 22.29, asaṃkīrṇa)

This monotheistic exclusiveness, however, must have been incompatible with the more comprehensive nature of popular Vaiṣṇavism, in which various kinds of worship, from any form of the Vyūhas and Vibhavas down to the Śālagrāma stone,[10] find their own validities and places.[11] It is probably due to this inadequacy that the use of the term *ekāntin*, or *ekāyana* as in the *Pauṣkara* and *Sātvata*, is avoided in two of the old Saṃhitās, the *Jayākhya* and *Ahirbudhnya*, as they are the products of a period when Vaiṣṇavism tended to be inclusive rather than exclusive.

The *Jayākhya*, it is true, makes reference to *ekāntin vaiṣṇava* (22.11-3), but the word there, is a name given to one of six groups of devotees and its meaning is shifted to a mendicant who lives alone only with a virtuous disciple :

bhrāntvā bhikṣām ... / aparigrahavān yo ... // ... /
guṇinā saha śiṣyeṇa *vasaty eko* vicāra-dhīḥ // ... sa
ekāntīha vaiṣṇavaḥ /

Throughout the text, the word is used in this sense alone (JS 20.266, 21.80).

In the *Ahirbudhnya*, the word is used only once, to qualify Viṣṇu Himself, and it has the sense of "acting alone" :

ekāntino jagad viṣṇoḥ kurvataḥ (AS 58.14; cf. 38.10)

In the case of this Saṃhitā, the absence of the term

ekāntin may be ascribed to its intention of synthesizing the Vedic, Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Pāśupata systems within the compass of the Pañcarātra.[12] And this reasoning again points to the same inclusive attitude of the early Vaiṣṇavas.

Although the term *ekānta* (cf. BhG 6.16) or *ekāntin* does not appear therein, the *Bhagavad-gītā* is the first text that enjoins the exclusively monotheistic doctrine and way of worshipping God. Since it is full of such injunctions, we may quote only a few of them here.[13]

ananya-cetāḥ satataṃ yo māṃ smarati nityaśaḥ /
tasyāhaṃ suḷabhaḥ .. // (8.14; also see 8.8, 9.22 & 34)
eka-bhakti (7.17)
bhaktyā tv *ananyayā* śakyo hy aham evaṃvidho 'rjuna!/
jñātuṃ draṣṭuṃ ca tattvena praveṣṭuṃ ca paraṃtapa!// (11.54; also see 8.22)
bhajate mām *ananya-bhāk* (9.30)
mayy eva mana ādhatsva mayi buddhiṃ niveśaya /
nivasiṣyasi *mayy eva*, ata ūrdhvaṃ na saṃśayaḥ //
(12.8, 9.13)
māṃ ekaṃ śaraṇaṃ vraja / (18.66)

Such being the case, it is almost certain that the older devotees obtained the name *ekāntin* from the *BhG* chapter 14, where Kṛṣṇa propounds that knowledge which is the "best" and "highest" (BhG 14.1-2, cf. 7.17). The concluding verses of the chapter read as follows:

māṃ ca yo '*vyabhicāreṇa bhakti-yogena* sevate /
sa guṇān samatītyaitān brahma-bhūyāya kalpate //
brahmaṇo hi pratiṣṭhāham amṛtasyāvyayasya ca /
śāśvatasya ca dharmasya, *sukhasyaikāntikasya* ca //
(BhG 14.26-7)

Here, interestingly enough, the two phrases *śāśvata dharma* and *aikāntika sukha* are juxtaposed, though in an abrupt way, with Brahman which is to be secured by

means of the *avyabhicāra bhakti-yoga*. Therefore, first, we must understand that these two phrases are as important as the *brahman* is;[14] later, when we come to the discussion of Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, it will become clear how God is regarded as the foundation of Brahman as well as of all *āgamas* and *jñāna*, especially of the Pāñcarātra. Further, and more significantly, these phrases are themselves juxtaposed as the final words of that particular *BhG* chapter which is said to impart the "best and highest knowledge." This fact leads us to infer that between these two phrases there is an essential connection, which would naturally be somewhat like the following: the *aikāntika sukha* forms the ultimate object of the *śāśvata dharma*, which can only refer to the fundamental doctrine of the *BhG*. The word *aikāntika*, also designated as *ātyantika* (BhG 6.21) or *atyanta* (BhG 6.28) [*sukha*], can then be interpreted as the decisive qualification, insofar as it discriminates the devotee's ultimate object from the ordinary[15] and even from the highest *sukha* that had long been used as a characteristic of Brahman.[16] Since the *BhG* designates the same *sukha* to be *akṣaya* (BhG 5.21) and *uttama* (6.27) as leading a *bhakta* to attain Brahman, the goal of his life, that specific qualification *aikāntika* (or *ātyantika*) must have been unmistakably echoed in the Pāñcarātra, since the Saṃhitās teach *aikāntika mārga* (AS 1.5 & 3.31)

According to the *Ahirbudhnya*, *sukha* qualified by *nitya* and *hita* are identical :

ātyantikī nivṛttis tu puṃso yā duḥkha-santateḥ /
tayopalakṣitaṃ *nityaṃ sukhaṃ* yat, tadd *hitaṃ*
smṛtam// (13.9)
svarūpa-bhūtaṃ yat puṃso hitaṃ sukham udīritam /

bhagavanmayatā sāsya bhagavattāparāhvayā // (13.11)

The word *aikāntika* is a derivative of the stem *ekānta*. Accordingly, we may expect that at one time *ekānta* was a term given to the *śāśvata dharma*, which points up the *aikāntika sukha* or *hita* (cf. JS 1.41 & 48, 3.18). This usage, in fact, is clearly presupposed in the Nārāyaṇīya, our earliest text explicitly dependent upon the *BhG*[17] (see *ekānta-dharma*, MBh 12.336.4, and cf. 326.96, 331.50). Then it follows with sufficient certainty that the followers of this *ekānta dharma* should have been called *ekāntin*; cf., e.g., *ekāntināṃ dharmaḥ*, MBh 12.336.76. Incidentally, the terms *ekānta* and *ekāntin* in our specific senses have not been found before the Nārāyaṇīya.

This analysis of the origin of *ekāntin* is further supported by another fact. The later Pāñcarātrikas elaborately expounded two ideas expressed in this particular 14th chapter of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. One concerns theology and the other, practice. The first is the concept of Śakti. This has generally been considered as a distinctive feature of the Pāñcarātra system, but there in the *BhG* the idea exists already in embryo (*mahad brahma* as the source of everything, BhG 14.3-4).[18] This doctrine seems to be developed in the *ViṣṇuP* (e.g., 1.3.2-3) and *Ahirbudhnya* chapter 3, through which eventually culminates to the representation of the *LakṣmīT*. The second is the exposition of (*sad-*) *ācāra*, good conduct required for members of the Vaiṣṇava community, in BhG 14.22-6. An almost exact, and at times much more enlarged, parallelism will be found in the Pāñcarātra literature.[19]

2. *Sāt[t]vata*

The term *sāt[t]vata* is also used as an old sectarian name of the Pāñcarātra from the time of the Nārāyaṇīya.

From a comparison of *sātvata-śāstra* (AS 12.48; cf. AS 12.3 & 44) with *pañcarātrāhvayaṃ tantram* (AS 11.64), it becomes clear that the *Ahirbudhnya* uses the term *sātvata* in the sense of *pañcarātra*.[20] The *Sanatkumāra* mentions both terms as synonyms, e.g., in Indra 3.80. Accordingly, *sātvata-dharma* (MBh 12.322.5, 336.13ff., 27 & 78), *-jñāna* (330.13), and *-vidhi* (322.19 & 23; also in MBh 6.62.39) found in the Nārāyaṇīya must indicate the Pāñcarātra religion, doctrine, and rules, respectively. This usage is still current in such later Saṃhitās as the *Pārameśvara* (1.56, 10.134) and *LakṣmīT* (*-vijñāna*,[21] 1.19, 13.13; *-mantra*, 49.98).[22]

The same term is also applicable to the devotees of the Pāñcarātra (e.g., AS 54.5, LT 6.44, 40.118). They are said to maintain the *sāt[t]vata-dharma* (MBh 12.336.51, PMS 1.43), and the *Jayākhya* seems to give a description of their later aspects.[23] According to *SanatkS* Indra 3.81-2, *sātvata*, *bhāgavata*, *vaiṣṇava*, and *pāñcarātrika* are synonyms referring to the *dīkṣita vaiṣṇavas*. Further, Yāmuna equates *sāttvata* with *bhāgavata* and *ekāntika* in his *Āgamaprāmāṇya*.[24]

This sect designation probably had its origin in an epic and Purāṇic tribal name, Sāt[t]vata,[25] belonging to the Yādava clan. The Yādavas were descendants of Yadu,[26] one of the four sons of Yayāti,[27] and were also called the Vṛṣṇis after Yadu's descendant of that name.[28] It is in this tribe, according to the Purāṇic tradition, that Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, already identified with Viṣṇu, was born to be the tribal leader.[29] Hence, among others, epithets like *yadu-nandana*, *yadu-vara*, *yādava*, and *vārṣṇeya*[30] belong to him, and he himself proclaims to Arjuna (BhG 10.37), "vṛṣṇīnāṃ vāsudevo 'smi."

This hero must also have been related in some way to the Sātvatas, in which tribe a tradition says that Kṛṣṇa was

to have his birth.[31] He also appears in the assembly of the Sātvatas.[32] Therefore Kṛṣṇa is sometimes called "sātvatāṃ pati"[33] or simply "sātvata."[34] The probable reason for this is that both Vṛṣṇis and Sātvatas, often allied with other Yādava tribes, fought against enemies under the command of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.[35] However, the following Purāṇic passages seem to be more germane to our inquiry:

yajvibhir yajña-puruṣo, *vāsudevaś ca sātvataiḥ* /
vedānta-vedibhir viṣṇuḥ procyate yo, nato 'smi tam //
(VP 5.17.16; cf. 1.6.38-9)

yat tad brahma paraṃ sūkṣman aśūnyaṃ śūnya-
kalpitam /
bhagavān vāsudeveti yaṃ gṛṇanti hi *sāttvatāḥ* //
(BhP 9.9.49)

These descriptions undoubtedly echo *Jayākhya* 22.29-30:

śuddhe tu bhagavan-mārge sattva-sthās *sāttvatāś* ca te /
asaṃkīrṇā dvija-śreṣṭha! brahma-rudra-pūrvakaiḥ //
viśeṣa-devatā-yāgair amukhyair nātinirmalaiḥ /
vāsudevaṃ vinā ... //

Here the essential characteristic of the devotees termed *sāttvata* is identical with that of the *ekāntins*. We shall discuss the concept of Vāsudeva later, for it is one of the most important tenets of the Pāñcarātra and the name, as a designation of the supreme God, is frequently evidenced in the Saṃhitās, from the earliest ones on.[36] On the other hand, these texts generally draw a distinct line between God Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa, the son of Vasudeva, as, for instance, in *PādmaS* 3.29.28:

*vasudeva-sutas*yāpi sthāpanaṃ *vāsudevavat* [37]//

Whenever Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in the texts, reference is in most cases made merely to the human incarnation of Viṣṇu, and the account of his heroic life is not much dwelt

upon as it is in the *Harivaṃśa*, *ViṣṇuP*, and *BhāgavataP* (cf. MBh 12.326.82-84, wherein his name is never referred to). Therefore, the tribal names, Yādava and Vṛṣṇi, with Kṛṣṇa as their chief do not appear in the earliest Saṃhitās, *Pauṣkara*, *Sātvata*, *Jayākhya*, *Ahirbudhnya*, and *Parama*. We have already noted that they tend to occur in such later texts as the *Īśvara*, chapters 13 and 22, but those references are still exceptional, as the late *ViṣṇuS* does not mention them either.

For these reasons, it seems that the Pāñcarātra was a religious system once held by the Sātvata tribe.[38] But this must remain a problem to be solved by future elaborate investigation, because the relation between Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa is still obscure at present. Nevertheless, with this term *sātvata*, as in the case of *ekāntin*, the early Pāñcarātrikas' close affiliation with Vāsudeva, the supreme God of the Bhāgavatas, is beyond doubt.

REFERENCES

1. See Chapter I above (pp. 8-9).
2. MBh 12.323.26 & 42, 326.19, 44 & 116, 328.30 (*śreṣṭha-bhakta*) 336.1, 3, 6, 61 & 76; *ekāntika*, MBh 12.326.12, cf. VS 2.26 & 32-3 (definition), Āg p. 76.26; *ekāntitva*, MBh 12. 321.42, 323.49, cf. BhP 9.2.11.
3. PauS 32.286, PS 31.30-1, LT 17.17, NS 3,75, 25.388, PMS 1.60 & 85, ĪS 1.30, 4.3 & 7, 8.175; cf. VP 1.6.38, BhP 6.9.39, 7.1.15 & 33, 7.6.27, 7.10.11, 8.3.20, Āg p. 71.3, Yp. 77.12-7.
4. See Pāṇini 5.2.115.
5. The devotee's conviction appears to be:
   bhagavantam upāsīta, sarvaṃ tenaiva siddhyati // (PS 6.61)
   bhajante ye narā viṣṇuṃ manasā karmaṇā girā /
   na teṣāṃ durlabhaṃ kiṃcid iha loke paratra ca // (PS 31.43)
   JS 1.7ff. & 13-18, PS 1.5, 3.31-3, 30.64-5, PMS 1.9, ĪS 21.528, AnirS 1.13-4; cf. AS 5.22, MBh 12.321.42, 331.50-1, 336.5-6, Śaṅkara on Brahma-s 2.2.45, Bhāskara on 2.2.43, ŚBh on 2.2.42.

6. Cf. ekāyanābhidhaṃ Vedam (PMS 1.32, ĪS 21.540), ekāyana Veda
   (PMS 1.56, ĪS 1.43, 21.515, 531 & 534; cf. ŚPS 2.38, 23.185) ekāyanī śruti (ĪS 11.231), ekāyana-śruti (Āg p. 85.7), trayy-antaikāyana-śruti (Āg p. 85.15), etc. and Note V.22 of my Translation (p. 208). For *ekāyana śākhā*, cf. Gonda, *MRL*, p. 50.
7. For frequent reference to *ekānta-deśa*, where a devotee is recommended to go and practice, see e.g., JS 17.19, 19.2, 25.33, 27.72, 31.40, AS 15.71, LT 34.135, 36.115, 47.11, 53.2; cf. BhG 13.10. For the sectarian exclusiveness in the *NāradaPR*, see Banerjea, *Development*, pp. 395-6. The secret of *pañcarātra* must not be imparted to those who are *devāntara-bhaktiḥ*: NS 3.73, 11.36-7.
8. PS 10.22, 30.67, 31.3, 32 & 34.
9. That is, *oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya* (PauS 32.43ff., ĪS 23.52ff., ŚPS 53.14-9; cf. PS 3.54, 60 & 88, VP 1.11.54). ekāntin Bhagavataḥ (BhP 7.6.27).
10. Gonda, *Aspects*, pp. 94-5; -do, *VŚ*, pp. 113, 174 note 44; Oppert, "Note sur les Sālagrāmas." It is also a name of one of the Vaiṣṇava *tīrthas* (PauS 36.5 & 335, AS 33.81 & 87, 50.19-22, PS 25.17, PMS 1.10, VP 2.1.24 & 35, 2.13.4).
11. BhG 7.21-2, 9.23, AS 33.14-21, PS 2.106-10, BhP 10.40.8-10. Cf. Gonda, *RI*, Vol. 1, pp. 314ff.; Hazra, *UpaP.*, Vol. 1, pp. 217-8.
12. AS 2.37-9, 11.43ff., 12.5-50, 15.21-5, 54.4-5; cf. MBh 12.326.100, 336.76, 337.59-65, LT 13.12-3.
13. Further, see e.g., BhG 7.17-8 (cf. 6.31, 9.13), 12.10 (cf. 9.27, 11.55, 12.6), 13.10 (cf. 14.26).
14. One may be tempted to see here a primitive idea for the formula *sat-cid-ānanda* of later Vedāntins; *brahman* for the *sad vastu*, *śāśvata dharma* for *jñāna* or *cit*, and *aikāntika sukha* for *ānanda*.
15. Cf. LT 43.103, *sukhaṃ ca tat-kṣaṇa-dhvaṃsi svadaśā-duḥkha-saṃmitam* /.
16. Since the old Upaniṣads (e.g., ChUp 7.23-5).
17. See Section I above (p. 17).
18. Edgerton, *BhG*, pp. 153-4.
19. E.g., MBh 12.336.58, SS Ch. 21, PauS 20.80-121, Ch. 25, 31.169-99, 255-92, 33.131ff., PS 3.57-94, 12.1-68, 17.1-52, 30.75-7, SanatkS Brahma Chs. 4-5, Indra 9.1-12 (*ācāra*), NS 11.1-98,

29.1-40, LT 27.29-47, 28.1ff., VS 30.26-9; cf. JS chapter 22, AS 15.65-75, PS 17.24, 29.64, PMS 2.1-138, 15.539-49, 871-901, ĪS 22.1-67, AnirS 16.1-38 (*dīkṣita*), VS 11.55-6, BṛhadbrahmaS 3.7.1-211, Manu 2.6, KumS 6.31; Hazra, UpaP., Vol. 1, p. 328.

20. Also see AS 12.48, 13.22, 15.22, 16.85, 54.5, 55.15 & 33. In the Tusam Inscription (*ca* 5th century A.D.), an Aryya-Sātvata-Yogācāryya-Bhagavatbhakta is mentioned; see *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. 3, p. 270. Also cf. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 251.

21. Also called *bhāgavata-dharma* (LT 1.21). Cf. bhāgavatī Saṃhitā (BhP 1.7.8).

22. Further, see Āg p. 87.2 & 5, p. 83.1. In the *ŚBh*, *sātvata-śāstra* (on 2.2.42, p. 702.9-10, p. 704.2-3) is to be compared with *pañcarātra-śāstra* (p. 700.9ff., p. 701.7) and *pañcarātra-tantra* (p. 703.13); also see LT 49.69, *sāttvatašāstra*. Cf. BhP 1.3.8, 1.4.7, 1.7.6, GP 1.1.16.

23. They are classified as one of five groups of the Vaiṣṇavas (JS 22.15-6, cf. JS 20.267, 21.81, VS 2.29-30).

24. E.g., p. 76.23-6; *sātvata = bhāgavata* on pp. 8.4-7 (= p. 73. 15-6) and 76.19-20. Quoting Manu 10.23, he also mentions:

santi ca sātvatāḥ nāma upanayanādi-saṃskāra-hīnā vaiśya-vrātyānvayino 'vara-jannanāḥ kecid

from p. 7.17 to p. 8.2, p. 73.20ff.).

They are *svārthaṃ pūjayantāḥ* (p. 77.9) and *vṛtti-karśitāḥ* (p. 77.10, see Manu 8.411). Also cf. p. 75.18.

25. For the genealogy of this tribe, see VP 4.12.16, H Cr.Ed. 26-7, and also H 2.38 (vul.) discarded in the Poona Critical Edition. Also cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, *s.v.* Satvant; Pusalker, *Vedic Age*, p. 257; Kirfel, *Pañcalakṣaṇa*, pp. 432ff.

26. H Cr. Ed. 23.161-2, *yādavā yadunā cāgre*; VP 4.11.7, *yādavāś ca yadu-nāmopalakṣaṇāt* / /. Cf. Pusalker, *op.cit.*, pp. 297f.; Kirfel, *loc. cit.*, p. 410.1ff.

27. Cf. MBh 1.80, H Cr. Ed. 22, VP 4.10, BhP 9.18. Or "five" (*pañca dāyādāḥ*); cf. Kirfel, *loc. cit.*, p. 407.53-5.

28. VP 4.11.7 (end): *vṛṣasya putro madhur abhavat / tasyāpi vṛṣṇi-pramukhaṃ putra-śatam āsīt / yato vṛṣṇi-saṃjñām etad gotram avāpa* / . For the genealogy of this tribe, see VP 4.11, H Cr. Ed. 24. Also cf. Raychaudhuri, *Materials*, p. 33.

29. He is said to have been born in the lineage of Kroṣṭu, a son of Yadu:

yador vaṃśa-dharasya ... // kroṣṭor ... vaṃśam ... /
yasyānvaya-jo viṣṇur harir vṛṣṇi-kula-prabhuḥ //
(H 23.167-8)

evam eṣo 'vatīrṇo vai pṛthivīm pṛthivī-pate! /
viṣṇur yadu-kula-śreṣṭho vāsudeveti viśrutaḥ //
...śrīmān vasudeva-kule prabhuḥ / jāto vṛṣṇiṣu devakyām... //
(H 113.71-2)

yadoḥ ... vaṃśam ... / yatra nārāyaṇo jajñe harir vṛṣṇi-kulodvahaḥ // (H 22.44)
... kṛṣṇo jajñe vṛṣṇi-kule prabhuḥ /
(H 48.12; cf. B 1.2, 1.5.1-2)

30. For these words, see respectively, H 76.43, 79.26 & 38, (vul.) 2.32.25; 29.38, 81.9; 81.54 & 60, BhG 11.41; BhG 1.41, 3.36, H 2.68.22 (vul.). Also cf. *yadu-śreṣṭha*, H 2.39.3, 3.109.13; *yadūttama*, H 2.42.49; *yadu-vṛṣa*, H 2.84.38; *yādava*, H 2.39.36, 40.31, 43.2; *yādava-sattama*, H 3.100.4, etc., Kirfel, *Pañcalakṣaṇa*, p. 272.91 (utpanno ... Harir Vṛṣṇi-kule) & p. 423.2 (Viṣṇur Vṛṣṇi-kulodvahaḥ / /), etc.

31. SanatkS Indra 3.73-9: *bhagavān ...* // (76) ... / *vasudeva-suto bhūtvā devakyāṃ samajāyata* // (77) ... *sa punaḥ* (!) *sāttvate yasmāt kule jātaḥ sureśvaraḥ* / (79).

32. MBh 12.326.92, H 28.30, 29.38; cf. H 26.27, 113.64, H (vul.) 3.115.37, 117.12. *sāttvata-saṃsadi*: Kirfel, *loc. cit.*, p. 440.30 & p. 445.72.

33. MBh 12.330.13, BhP 10.1.9. Cf. *sātvata-mukhya*, MBh 2.43.22; *sātvatānāṃ mahāratha*, H 113.52; *sātvata-puṅgava*, BhP 1.9.32; *sātvatarṣabha*, BhP 10.58.42. Balarāma is also *sātvatāṃ śreṣṭha* in H 81.62.

34. MBh 1.210.12, 5.68.7, 12.330.12-3, H (vul.) 2.127.137. Cf. Dasgupta, *HIPh*, Vol. 2, pp. 541-2. Relation to the Sattva Guṇa, as well as to heroic courage—because he is a Kṣatriya, seems to be always retained; cf. MBh 6.62.34, 12. 336.63-8, BhG 10.36, JS 2.8, 22.29, LT 1.21, VS 2.30, AS 15.19 (*sāttvikī rīti*), Veṇ 1.23.

35. MBh 2.72.29-30, H 9.26-7, 25.15, 27.1-2, 29.29 & 38, 81.89-95, H (vul.) 2.48.10, 49.22, 3.94.1-21, etc. The tribes, Vṛṣṇi, Bhoja, and Andhaka, seem to have been residents of Mathurā. See MBh 2.55.6, H 80.6, 79.1 (*mathurāṃ yādavādhīnāṃ purīm*), H (vul.) 2.29.42, 35.1. Cf. Law, *Kṣatriya Tribes*, Vol. 1, pp. 83ff. For the Bhojas' genealogy, see H 27.3-15. Cf. Law, *Ancient*

Indian Tribes, pp. 176ff. For that of the Andhakas, see H 27.16ff., VP 5.36-7.

36. And in a few cases, as identified with Brahman. See e.g., MBh 6.62.15, 12.326.24, 335.87, PauS 19.20, 20.65, 38.306, JS 4.14, 22.30, 33.59, AS 2.28, 4.69, 53.10, PS 2.53 & 98, 3.22-3, 7.70, 26.64, 31.30, LT 2.5-6, 14.1, 15.9 & 20, 16.23-4, 17.3, 32.29 & 33, PMS 1.29, 33, 53, 74 & 95, 24.87; cf. BhG 7.19, 10.37, 11.50, 18.74, VP 1.2.13, 6.4.7, 6.5.76. Vāsudeva seems to have been Yāmuna's *iṣṭadevatā*, for in the *Āg* he consistently uses that name alone in his own sentences, except Viṣṇu which is used at most three times (p. 84.5 & 16, p. 42.16); other epithets are found only in his quotations. Also cf. VAS 113 (p. 144.4) & 124 (p. 152.13), ŚBh on 2.2.41-2.
37. Govindacarya, *JRAS*, 1911, p. 936.
38. Cf. the explanation of *sāttvika puruṣas* in MBh 12. 336.63-70. Also cf. Gonda, *MRL*, p. 9.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCEPT OF THE SUPREME GOD

1. *Brahman and Nonpersonal Aspect*

As in the case with almost every religio-philosophical school in ancient India, the Pāñcarātrikas also adopt Upaniṣadic Para(ma)ṃ Brahma (or Brahman) as their "highest principle":

para-tattva, JS 1.41; VS 2.53; cf. NS 1.4, 9.35,

"ultimate cause of all the causes":

sarva-kāraṇa-kāraṇam, AS 2.53,

sarva-tattvāśrayaṃ tattvam, SS 12.163

or "supreme reality":

paramaṃ vastu, JS 5.29.

In the Saṃhitās, however, Brahman is not regarded as an independent reality void of or beyond personal, theistic attributes. Here Brahman seems rather to represent the transcendent or nonpersonal *aspect* of the supreme God and reveals its borrowed metaphysical character in

the Pāñcarātra theology. For it is not an integral part of this popular religious system, which centers on the idea of a personal active god. Thus in the Nārāyaṇīya, the oldest of our texts, detailed explanations of Brahman proper are scarcely to be found; so also in the *ParamaS*, and hence even in the later *ViṣṇuS*. Nor does the name Brahman appears in the lists of God's epithets found in those Saṃhitās.[1]

At times, even the transcendent and personal aspects are apparently considered to be interchangeable. In *Jayākhya* 1.21-4 and 4.60-132, especially in the latter passage which is an elaborate paraphrase of BhG 13.12-7, the descriptions of Brahman are totally interwoven with those of God.[2] Only *Ahirbudhnya* chapter 2 offers a lengthy explanation of Brahman, but in this case again we find a list of Its epithets (2.26-40), all of which, excepting *ātmatva* (2.29) and *brahman* (2.37), are given in the nominative singular masculine. Therefore, it would be almost impossible to regard Brahman as an independent, nonpersonal principle distinguished from God in the Pāñcarātra. Should it be separated, Brahman is at best merely a nominal and metaphysical principle which can hardly appear in liturgical contexts of the Saṃhitās.

Why, then, did the Pāñcarātrikas see fit to integrate the primarily nonpersonal Brahman into their system? There was an obvious intention to brahmanize and strengthen the popular religion of the Vaiṣṇavas; that is, to establish the orthodoxy of the sect. The orthodox Brahmin tradition, on its part, supported such a development in order to bring the new movement under its control. We shall see later in Chapter 5 how the Puruṣa-sūkta (RV 10.90) is utilized in the Pāñcarātra system. Secondly, there seems to have been a theological necessity. According to the

Saṃhitās, the supreme God is *akartṛ*[3] and therefore cannot play an actual role in the creation of this world; creative activity is entirely entrusted to His Śakti, personified and worshipped as the goddess Lakṣmī.[4] The underlying idea in differentiating these two concepts is certainly to protect the perfect nature of God from the imperfection of the world. But there looms a difficulty: since God possesses the Śakti within Himself, there arises the danger that the Absolute will become split into an ultimate duality.[5] Therefore, when the Pāñcarātrikas insisted upon monotheistic doctrine (*ekānta*), they must have managed to unify God and His Śakti goddess in some way. For this purpose the older concept of Brahman was quite helpful. The word, being neuter (*napuṃsakaṃ brahma*, VS 17.93), can include both masculine and feminine within itself, for it is neither.[6] Thus in the *LakṣmīT*, Brahman is *apṛthag-bhūta-śakti* (2.11, 16.24) and is sometimes compared to the waveless ocean. Viṣṇu is *śakti-mat* also like an enormous ocean, the waves of which, when agitated, correspond to His *śakti* (LT 32.32). In *Ahirbudhnya* 4.75-8, Brahman consists of both God as *śaktimat* and His Śakti, harmoniously blended in their unmanifested condition, that is to say, in the relation of *tādātmya*.[7] The same correlation of God as *śaktimat-śakti-bhāva*, is already retained in the old *Sātvata* (19.82-3). This conception is clearly expressed in the following lines from the *LakṣmīT*:

ṣāḍguṇyaṃ brahma, tatreyaṃ saṃsthitā viṣṇu-
saṃjñayā/
ataraṅgārṇavākārā śakti-śaktimator gatiḥ// (32.32)
eko nārāyaṇo viṣṇur vāsudevaḥ sanātanaḥ//
apṛthag-bhūta-śaktitvād advaitaṃ brahma niṣkalam/
(16.23-4)

tad (=brahma, 5) unmiṣati vai pūrvaṃ *śaktimac-chakti bhāvataḥ*/[8]

nārāyaṇaḥ paro devaḥ saṃsthitaḥ śaktimattayā//
sthirā śaktir ahaṃ tasya sarva-kārya-karī vibhoḥ/
tāv āvāṃ jagato 'rthāya bahudhā vikriyāvahe//[9]

(10.5-7)

In the monotheistic religion of the Pāñcarātra, the non-personal and personal aspects of the Supreme God are not totally separate but overlapping, or rather intricately interwoven. Only for the purpose of simplification of analysis and conceptual explanations can these two aspects be distinguished. The nonpersonal dimension primarily emphasizes the transcendence of the Supreme beyond the world, while the personal stresses the immanence within it. As we shall see, through His personal aspect the transcendent God becomes accessible to man.

The nonpersonal aspect of the Supreme is implied in the various attributes of Brahman, and they are also applied to the God who is an object of actual worship. Those attributes of Brahman which necessarily contain essential characters of the nonpersonal God may be analyzed as what follows.

Brahman, the transcendent reality far beyond this world (*bhavodadheḥ paraṃ pāram*, AS 2.42, PauS 41.142)[10] contrasts distinctly with all that is here in this world relative, ever-changing and transient (*kṣaṇa-bhaṅgi jagat sarvam*, VS 3.80).[11] Attributes of Brahman thus include "eternal"[12], "undecaying"[13], "changeless"[14] and "without beginning and end."[15] As opposed to the finite and relative[16] nature of the world, Brahman should be "infinite"[17], "without qualification"[18], and "void of all imposed properties."[19] It cannot possess any specific forms at all;[20] hence the transcendent God is invisible (AS

44.31, PS 23.51, 29.26). Since It is infinite, Brahman cannot be limited by form, space and time:

ākārād deśataḥ kālād anavaccheda-yogataḥ/ (AS 2.25)
ananto deśa-kālādi-parichheda-vivarjitaḥ// (LT 2.8)[21]

Consequently, there is no measure to define It.[22] It must remain supersensible[23] and unknowable through empirical knowledge.[24] Here lies another striking contrast of Brahman's omnipotence[25] to the limited powers of the world.

To these is related the important unitary and static nature of the transcendent, in contrast to the dynamic diversity of this world. It is "only one"[26] which means "without second."[27] Its essential character is an "absolute unity"[28] which "cannot be disturbed"[29], because It is "supportless."[30]

As Brahman is one only and absolutely unitary, It is "without parts"[31] and is not simply an aggregate of elements seen as a composite whole. Since It is without constitutive elements, It cannot have any distinctions at all by which It could be characterized. Brahman is thus called "the void."[32] To illustrate this idea figuratively, Brahman is sometimes compared to a waveless ocean[33] or to a cloudless and windless sky;[34] but in reality It is far beyond any kind of comparison at all.[35] Accordingly, the transcendent God cannot be an object of logical or philosophical investigation.[36] This point is clearly seen in the following verses of the Nārāyaṇīya and *Harivaṃśa*:

na hy *eṣa tarkyā śakyo vaktuṃ* varṣa-śatair api //
ṛte deva-prasādād vā rājan! jñānāgamena vā /
(MBh 12.321.5-6)

niḥsaṃśayeṣu sarveṣu nityaṃ vasati vai hariḥ /
sasaṃśayān hetu-balān nādhyāvasati mādhavaḥ //
(MBh 12.337.66)

vimṛśanti sma taṃ devaṃ divyābhir upapattibhiḥ /
na cainaṃ śekur anveṣṭum...// (H Cr.Ed. 40.18)

Therefore, the Pāñcarātra theologians were well aware of the fact that Brahman is indescribable,[37] and the *Jayākhya* expresses it in the following way:

avācye vartate kutra vāg vai, saṃvedanaṃ vinā //
ṣaṇṇāṃ yadvad rasānāṃ ca svādutvaṃ nānubhūyate /
prākṛtaiḥ karaṇais, tadvan nābhivyaktiṃ bahir vrajet // (5.23-4)

This conceptual voidness of Brahman is responsible for the predominance of negative attributes and the frequent negation of positive predicates (e.g., AS 2.47-52), which goes back to the "neti neti" of the Upaniṣads.[38]

On the other hand, the metaphysical voidness of Brahman is only one aspect, for we recall that It is also infinite. These two concepts, void and infinite, when fused into one, can have a strong positive consequence. An analogy from a different conceptual word is the modern concept of the number zero, for which one of the Sanskrit words happens to be *śūnya*. When any given number is divided by the one nearest to zero the result is considered infinity. This arithmetical formula allows, though only from the theorematic point of view, an equivalent that infinity, when multiplied by zero, can stand for any finite number. In quite a similar way, Brahman, which is infinite and void at the same time, contains everything within It, as described in the *Jayākhya*.[39] It is thus called "full"[40] or "the All."[41]

However, Brahman is not only the container of all or the All itself, but also the pervader of all or omnipresent[42] in remarkable contrast to the world, where each and everything is distinct and cannot go beyond its own limit. Therefore, while formless as the transcendent, Brahman

is immanent in this world[43] and manifests itself in all holy and great objects of worship (*mahāvibhūti-saṃsthāna*, AS 13.18-21, 52.23); cf. JS 4.110, LT 17.5, BhG 10.16ff., especially:

yad yad vibhūtimat sattvaṃ śrīmad ūrjitaṃ eva vā /
tat tad evāvagaccha tvaṃ mama tejoṃśa-saṃbhavam // (BhG 10.41)

In this way, it seems that this notion of infinite void provides a theological ground for the well-known inclusive tolerance of the Vaiṣṇavas, that is of course also conspicuous in the Pāñcarātra.[44] They constantly tried to include devotees of other gods within the same Vaiṣṇava fold.[45]

As seen above, Brahman can be placed in apparently contradictory categories from the empirical point of view, not only to indicate that It does not fit into any one of those, but also to reconcile the transcendent and immanent dimensions. A typical example of this *coincidentia oppositorum* is the traditional attempt to describe Brahman with totally contradicting phrases. Such descriptions are continually found from the time of the old Upaniṣads[46] as well as in the later Pāñcarātra texts, for instance, in *Jayākhya* 4.65-76.

Other qualifications of Brahman include the famous Vedantic formula *sac-cid-ānanda* (cf. TUp 3.5-6), which is applied to Brahman or God in the *LakṣmīT* (sac-cid-ānanda-lakṣaṇam, 15.8; cf. e.g., 7.2, 17.3, 43.36: to *Lakṣmī*). This very formula is absent in our earliest Saṃhitās. It is nowhere used in the *Sātvata* and *Jayākhya*, but the *Pauṣkara* makes a sporadic reference to "*cit-sad*-ānanda-lakṣaṇa" in 1.40. The *Ahirbudhnya* uses it exclusively for the Vyūhas (5.44, 21.14). Even in these texts *sat, cit* and *ānanda* when used separately, clearly form the essential

Little can be said about *sat* as it appears in our texts. On the one hand, since Brahman is the transcendental Absolute far from ordinary existence and is not a simple positive thing in the empirical sense (*bhāvātīta*, JS 4.109), it is impossible to discuss either that It exists or does not (*na sad asad ucyate*, JS 4.63).[47] On the other hand, Brahman possesses an eternal reality beyond existence and nonexistence, that can be proved only by scriptural testimony (*jñānāgama*, MBh 12.321.6),[48] or Yogic intuition (*saṃvedana*, JS 5.23; *divya upapatti*, H Cr. 40.18).

Brahman as *ānanda* is regarded as the final goal (*parā gati*) of yogins (JS 4.61, AS 3.41).[49] Or more generally, It is the terminating point of worldly existence (*bhavodadheḥ paraṃ pāram*, AS 2.42)[50] which is always considered to be painful.[51] The final goal is not only the cessation of pain, but supreme bliss (*paramānanda*)[52] or *nirduḥkha-niḥsīma-sukha* (AS 2.22, LT 2.1). This *ānanda* is applied not only to Brahman, but to the state of release or *mokṣa*:

paramā muktir sad-ānanda-phalā (AS 54.6)

sukhaṃ cānuttamaṃ muktir aduḥkham avinaśvaram (PS 3.22)

Hence the released are *nirmalānanda-lakṣaṇa* and their bodies are also *ānandamaya* (AS 6.24).

If Brahman is thus the final goal attainable by mankind,[53] It cannot be purely transcendent. There must be some essential connecting link between Brahman and the world, for otherwise the former would be utterly foreign to the latter and there could be no way to attain It. Ancient Indian liberal philosophers of the Upaniṣads solved the problem of the isolation of the mundane from

The Pāñcarātrikas evidently inherited this notion. The Saṃhitās unanimously state that the true form of Brahman or God is pure intellect, and offer abundant references from the time of the *Sātvata*.[55]

Brahma-svarūpam amalaṃ sva-caitanyam (SS 17.38).

They also affirm that individual selves, *jīva* or *ātman* (AS 6.38), possess intellect as their true form (*jñānam ātma-svarūpam*, JS 4.58, AS 31.7), though in a limited degree when they are born in this world.[56] Here again is a lucid contrast: while Brahman or God is omniscient,[57] man's intellect is limited.

2. *Personal Aspect, Bhagavat*

There is a possibility that the Pāñcarātra theologians use the concept of *cit* not only as a connecting link between the transcendent and mundane, but also between the nonpersonal and personal, humanlike aspects of God. For in the case of *cit* alone, I believe, the usually unavoidable contrast separating God from the world is exceptionally broken. It seems necessary to comment on this problem before entering into the details of God's personal aspect.

So far as the true form of *cit* is concerned, there is no essential difference between God and the individual selves.[58] According to the Pāñcarātra creation theory, the source of the selves is the Puruṣa, who is called *bhagavat* (AS 4.61) or *para nara* (LT 7.22). The attributes of this Puruṣa are almost identical with those of God (e.g., in AS 4.56), as he appears in a stage just between the pure and impure evolutions.[59] The Puruṣa consists of four couples of *manus* (AS 6.8-11 & 32), who are called not only

bhagavanmaya (AS 6.39, 14.6), but *sarvajña* (AS 6.39). From these *manus*, termed "the aggregates of the selves" (AS 6.38), mankind (*mānavamānavāḥ*) develops out (AS 6.42-3, 7.46-54, cf. MBh 12.338.3 & 25). This process indicates the individual selves are potentially omniscient.[60]

These selves, however, are born with ignorance, *avidyā*,[61] which is considered as one of the five Śaktis of God[62] and known as *nigraha-, tirobhāva-śakti* (AS 14.17, LT 12.15), or *māyā*.[63] As is shown in these names, the chief function of this ignorance is to obscure the real nature of the selves, which is in reality the nature of God:

avidyayā paraṃ rūpaṃ jīvātma-paramātmanoḥ //
saṃchādyate, tayos tattva-vedanaṃ tu nivartyate /
(AS 45.3-4; cf. AS 38.13, LT 14.55-6, VS 4.41)

This obscuring power becomes effective by its product, *abhimāna*, "the conception that there is self where there is no self."[64] Consequently, as long as ignorance persists, the selves continually accumulate predispositions, *vāsanā*[65] or *karman*,[66] and must suffer bondage (*bandha*) and repeat transmigration (*saṃsāra*).[67] There is no possibility for them to realize God or Brahman in this state, for their potential intellect is seriously constricted:

bāhyotthā vāsanā vipra! bahu-janmārjitā dṛḍhā //
lolīkṛto 'nayā hy ātmā śuddho 'śuddha-svarūpayā/
(JS 13.6-7)

The *Ahirbudhnya* refers to this state as *jñāna-bhraṃśa* in 7.26 (cf. *smṛti-bhraṃśa*, BhG 2.63), *vijñāna-saṃkocād ajñatvam* in 14.19, and *kiṃcij-jña* in 14.20.

Ignorance is said to be beginningless,[68] partly because it is an inborn quality of the individual selves and partly because it belongs to the Śakti of God. But it does have an end. When it is terminated and the obscuration of intellect is removed, the individual self realizes its true form,

svarūpāvirbhāva (AS 59.28), or *ātma-lābha* (PauS 33.126); cf. LT 14.18 and see *infra* Note 75. This is called release or *mokṣa* (AS *ibid*).[69] According to the *Bhagavad-gītā*, it is as follows:

idaṃ jñānam upāśritya *mama sādharmyam* āgatāḥ /
sarge 'pi nopajāyante pralaye na vyathanti ca // (14.2)

As clearly shown in this stanza, the means of overcoming ignorance[70] or of attaining *mokṣa*[71] is the counterpositive of ignorance,[72] that is, true knowledge, *jñāna* or *vidyā* (PauS 33.136, 41.155), which is defined as *svātma-saṃbodhin* (AS 2.56), *ātma-prakāśaka* (PauS 40.50), or *ātma-jyotiḥ-pradarśaka* (LT 15.14). This knowledge is not obtained by study or similar ordinary efforts (cf. AS 2.43-4) nor even by severe *tapas* (NS 1.4); it can be reached only through the supernatural power of yogic practices[73] or through the grace of God (*deva-prasāda*, MBh 12.321.6)[74] that is gained through ardent worship, *bhakti*. All other possible means are ineffectual, for they are *prākṛta*, that is to say, they are in no way related to the essential *cit* (JS 5.30). When ignorance is destroyed by this knowledge, God or Brahman, being identical with the true form of the individual selves, is directly intuited:

aneka-janma-saṃsiddha-puṇya-pāpa-parikṣaye /
nirkṛtte vāsanā-jāle samyag-vijñāna-śastrataḥ //
traiguṇyoparame tat tu *svenānubhavituṃ kṣamam*/
(AS 2.41-2)[75]

To return to the concept of *cit*, there is a contrast between God and the individual selves, namely, the former's intellect is all-knowing and unlimited, whereas that of the latter is limited and blurred by ignorance. The intrinsic nature of this contrast, however, differs from the others' on one point. As we have seen earlier those other contrasts, for instance, infinity and finitude, emphasize

that the transcendent is an exact ontological opposite of the world and man, and decisively separate one from the other. They are essential distinctions that cannot be overcome by any means until *mokṣa* is attained. But in the case of *cit* alone, ignorance is merely a conditioning factor to be removed for *mokṣa*. Here the usually unavoidable contrast is inapplicable and shifted to a matter of degree. Insofar as intellect is the essential constituent of the true form, or the form itself, of both the Supreme and individual selves in their potential states, the concept of *cit* provides a theological basis for the transcendent and nonpersonal God to assume various actual forms on the analogy of men and animals, that is, for the Avatāra theory. This is the idea of personalization of the nonpersonal God.

We shall now concentrate on the personal aspect of God, where the real interest of the Pāñcarātrikas lies.

As the difference between the essential form of God and selves is merely one of degree, and moreover, as *mokṣa* is the self-realization or direct intuition of that form, it would be natural that the condition of God is considered the supreme and ideal goal of the whole personality of human kind. To begin with, the *Ahirbudhnya* regards God as the *paramātman*, which is explained in 2.26:

upary upari tattvānāṃ pūrva-pūrvātma-bhāvinām //
pāramyeṇātma-bhāvitvāt paramātmā prakīrtitaḥ /
(cf. LT 2.1-3; VP 6.7.66-7)

The epithet, *puruṣottama*, clarifies this point further. The *Parama* gives a definition:

sarveṣāṃ puruṣāṇāṃ tu yasmād evaṃ viśiṣyate //
*sarva-kalyāṇa-hetu*tvāt tenāsau puruṣottamaḥ /
(2.95-6)

Cf. viṣṇur eva *nara-śreṣṭho* mahiṣṭhaḥ puruṣottamaḥ //
(Āg p.45, line 20)

Here, and in many other cases, the epithet is found to be related in some way to men at large. The following examples, indulging frequently in alliterative word play, point to the profound relationship between *puruṣa* and *puruṣottama*:

mānavāḥ.../...bhaktāḥ puruṣottamam //
(MBh 12.323.24)

puruṣāḥ.../...bhaktāḥ puruṣottamam //
(MBh 12.331.41)

... puruṣottamam/...puruṣā gacchanti //
(MBh 12.336.3; cf. 74)

bahūnāṃ puruṣāṇāṃ sa yathaikā yonir ucyate /
tathā taṃ puruṣaṃ viśvaṃ paramaṃ sumahattaram //
(MBh 12.338.25)

nṝn ātmano 'nubadhyāntar, hitvainān parito 'pi ca //
yā sthitis tasya devasya puruṣottamatāhvayā /
(AS 55.27-8)

... vijñāna-sulabhaṃ nṝṇām / ... puruṣottamam //
(AS 55.32)

martye 'smin puruṣendro 'sau na kaścit prākṛto naraḥ /
deva-lokeṣu deveṣu pravaraḥ puruṣottamaḥ //
(H 2.49.18)

The word *puruṣottama* is not applied exclusively to the Supreme God. It is often used as a name of Pradyumna,[76] the third Vyūha, from whom the Puruṣa as the aggregate of *jīvātman*s comes into existence according to the Pāñcarātra theory of evolution (AS 6.9-11). It is also applicable to mythical figures like Dakṣa (H 3.22.2) and Purūravas (H 1.26.34), and even to human beings, including not only *nivṛtta-bhakta*s (PS 30.96), but warriors

of the Yādavas (H 3.94.7). In this connection, one may compare *uttama-puruṣa* also applied both to Nārāyaṇa (MBh 12.322.1; cf. BhG 15.17) and to men (MBh 2.64.6-7), and *puruṣa-śreṣṭha* (H 2.70.7, 2.72.1).

Consequently, it seems that the basic ideal of the *puruṣottama* is the supreme personality which is immanent in this world and which is the object of *bhakti*—an idea which is apparently inherited from the *guhyatamaṃ śāstram* of *Bhagavad-gītā* 15.16-20.[77] Probably in this sense, Bhāsa uses the epithet for the messenger Kṛṣṇa in order to occasion Duryodhana's anger in his *Dūtavākya* 1.5.1-7 (cf. BhG 9.11, MBh 6.62.13-22).

In Vaiṣṇavism, the Supreme God is referred to by many different names. This tendency of calling God by many names reaches a culminating point in the Viṣṇu-sahasranāma stotra.[78] In the Saṃhitās, the most frequent names are Viṣṇu and Hari, followed by Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva. Other names, also occasionally found, include Adhokṣaja, Janārdana, and so forth,[79] which are usually given to Kṛṣṇa in the epic and Purāṇas. In all these cases the personal character of God is evident. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this. Viṣṇu is not infrequently compared to parents[80] or a welcomed guest:[81]

jñeyo mātā pitā viṣṇur, viṣṇuḥ priyo 'tithiḥ / (JS 16.323)

In a similar way, Puruṣottama is mentioned in MBh 12.326.119:

tvayāpi satataṃ rājann! abhyarcyaḥ puruṣottamaḥ /
sa hi mātā pitā caiva kṛtsnasya jagato guruḥ //

Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī also are considered parents: *tau pitarau dhruvau* (AS 3.52) and *pitarau śrī-tadīśvarau* (AS 58.66). Viṣṇu is the best recipient of offerings (*dāna*) in *SanatkS* Brahma 10.92-3 and 57; so is Hari in PS 19.91. In

the Nārāyaṇīya, Hari is the first person born from the formless God (MBh 12.329.3.7 & 5.1). He is the best of the gods and men according to PS 26.80 (cf. VS 2.48):

viśiṣyante ... / mānavānāṃ yathā devā, devānāṃ ca yathā hariḥ //

So is Puruṣottama in the above cited passage, PS 2.95-6. The name Janārdana also points to the personal aspect, as it presupposes the Avatāra theory in AS 10.40-1:

dharma-saṃsthāpanāyātha niraśiṣyann adhārmikān //
janārdanatvam īśāno yadā viṣṇuḥ prapadyate / ...

The first line clearly echoes BhG 4.7-8 (further, cf. AS 11.10-2, 16.8 and PS 2.58).

The Supreme God, when called by these names, is always the object of worship (*ārādhana, arcana, pūjana*) and meditation (*dhyāna, smaraṇa*). Since the Pāñcarātra is a devotional liturgical school, the theme of worship and meditation is evidenced in innumerable places. One may therefore regard the following lines as typical, which are found in the opening chapter of the *Jayākhya*, one of the earliest of the Saṃhitās:

bhagavan! śrotum icchāmo viṣṇor adbhuta-karmaṇaḥ /
upāsā-lakṣaṇaṃ karma kathayasva prasādataḥ // (1.37)

At this point, a few remarks on *pūjā* are necessary in order to see what kind of object the Supreme God is considered to be in the Pāñcarātra liturgy. *Pūjā*[82] is probably one of the most important rituals of the Pāñcarātrikas, forming a basic part of almost all other ceremonies from daily routine worship to occasional initiation and *abhiṣeka*. It normally consists of sixteen services,[83] known as *upacāra*,[84] which begin with invocation (*āvāhana*)[85] and end with dismissal (*visarjana*).[86] The prominent feature of this rite is that during its perfor-

mance there always prevails an emotional contact between God (Bhagavat) and His worshipper (Bhakta). In this *pūjā*, the devotees should first meditate upon God to have Him enter into a concrete (*sākāra*) form as described in the sacred texts; for instance, with eyes long as lotus petals, with four hands holding His weapons, with Śrīvatsa and Kaustubha on his breast, with dark blue body in yellow robe, and so forth. And then they invoke Him to enter either into the form of His icon[87] or into their own mind and imagination.[88] To this image of God, which they can think of freely, the devotees show hearty hospitality, regarding Him as a *prāpta priyātithi*.[89] They say words of welcome to God and offer Him a seat, water to wash His feet, oblations (*arghya*)[90], and so forth. His image is then bathed, dressed, fed and put to bed. It is called the *ekanta* service. Thus in *pūjā*, God is seen as an actual person appearing before the devotees in a real, active and concrete form.

Being this sort of object of worship and meditation, the Supreme God of the Pāñcarātra is accessible to all even to lower, lay people. So is Vāsudeva, as implied in the descriptions of the *Ahirbudhnya* and *Parama* (cf. MBh 6.62.38-9):

sarvaiḥ saṃbhajanīyaś ca, voḍhā ca sakalātmanām /
vāsavo vasanād dehe sarva eva śarīriṇaḥ // (AS 52.70)
teṣāṃ *sāmānya-devo* 'sau vāsudeva iti smṛtaḥ / (PS 2.97-8)

We shall analyse more of the popular concept of Vāsudeva in our section 4 *infra*. The popular aspect of Vaiṣṇavism, in general, is such as to allow everybody to worship God, including the poor, even Śūdras and women, provided that the worshipper has *bhakti*.[91] The same

inclusive tolerance[92] is also remarkable in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.[93]

If God is thus accessible to laymen, He must possess not only personal characteristics but also particular, concrete forms or bodies,[94] some one of which anybody can conceive of freely within the limit of his own understanding:

bhaktyā hy abhīpsitaṃ rūpam arcanīyam (SS 13.63)
sva-sva-bhāvamayena vapuṣā (SS 18.208)
bhāvanā-bhoga-vigraha (PauS 30.99)
cintya-śarīravat (PS 24.19)

This again is an important doctrine of the *Bhagavadgītā:*

ye yathā māṃ prapadyante tāṃs tathaiva bhajāmy aham /
mama vartmānuvartante manuṣyāḥ pārtha! sarvaśaḥ // (4.11)

yo yo yāṃ yāṃ tanuṃ bhaktaḥ śraddhayārcitum icchati /
tasya tasyācalāṃ śraddhāṃ tām eva vidadhāmy aham // (7.21)

Cf. yad yad dhiyā ta urugāya! vibhāvayanti tat tat vapuḥ praṇayase sad anugrahāya // (BhP 3.9.11)

For otherwise, the Supreme God, who is basically transcendent and formless, would forever remain beyond the reach of people[95] and be estranged from their religious emotion (cf. BhG 12.5). Therefore, it is admitted in the Saṃhitās that through meditation or imagination, *niṣkala* Viṣṇu becomes *sakala*,[96] or Avyakta reaches *vyaktibhāva*,[97] and that Adhokṣaja can be directly seen (*pratyakṣastha*, JS 1.70) by human means (*pramāṇāt sthitaḥ*, JS 4.112). In order to facilitate this meditation one is urged to listen in earnest to stories of Viṣṇu, which religious custom is to deepen the devotion to God and is

popularly seen even today, called as "Hari-kathā". This devout attention to the tales of God is regardèd as one of the important factors of *bhakti*.[98]

It is through His grace that God assumes various forms[99] or bodies and appears in this world,[100] primarily in order to aid the world:

lokopakāra-siddhy-artham anekaṃ rūpam āsthitaḥ
(PS 4.83)

and particularly to give hope to his worshippers; cf.,

āśvāsanāya jīvānāṃ yat tan mūrtīkṛtaṃ mahaḥ /
nārāyaṇaḥ paraṃ brahma ... //
(LT 17.7, AS 51.47-51, cf. BhG 11.50)

As we have already examined, God in the Pāñcarātra possesses a perfect personality, but it is a humanlike personality that is here exhibited in perfection. Not only in this respect, but also with regard to His actual forms, God is essentially like a human being. Thus our texts at times specify human forms for God; e.g.,

śuddha-saṃvinmayaṃ tv evaṃ vyakta-vigraham
ācyutaṃ/ /
pauruṣeṇa tu rūpeṇa smartavyaṃ sat-padāptaye /
(PauS 38.174-5)
sūkṣmāt sthūlam idaṃ jātaṃ śarīraṃ hy asya sādhanam /
devo 'pi sadṛśas tasya sādhyo bhavitum arhati //
(PS 24.32-3)

martya-mayī tanu (JS 1.63), *puruṣākāra* (AS 27. 29), *manuṣya-rūpa-saṃsthāna* (AS 44.26, cf. BhG 11.51), *rūpaṃ cedaṃ pauruṣaṃ dhyāna-dhiṣṇyam*
(BhP 10.3.28).

Furnished with both personal attributes and forms in this way, God preserves a humane and emotional relation to men. That is to say, He responds to the prayers of His devotees by granting His grace (e.g., PS 3.89-90, LT

40.108, cf. BhG 11.44). It is this relation that lies behind the rite of *pūjā*, in which He is an honored guest. It is also suggested by the other comparison to a father, and so forth, as well as by the epithet *jagad-guru*,[101] *gurur garīyān* (BhG 11.43), or *gurur gurutamaḥ* (JS 1.63).

The fundamental attitude of the Pāñcarātrikas to their God may be clearly seen in the following lines of the *ParamaS*:

na te rūpaṃ, na cākāro, nāyudhāni, na cāspadam /
tathāpi *puruṣākāro* bhaktānāṃ tvaṃ prakāśase //
(23.50, 29.25)

tasmād vidvān upāsīta na rūpaṃ pāramārthikam //
acyutasya parokṣaṃ tad iti kiṃ tad anusmaret /
aupakārikam evāsya rūpam ārādhayed budhaḥ //
(24.3-4)

mūrtimān eva pūjyo 'sāv, amūrter na tu pūjanam /
kāryārthaṃ mūrtayas tasya lokānugraha-hetavaḥ //
ataḥ *puruṣa-rūpeṇa* kalpayitvā tam acyutam /
abhyarcya parayā bhaktyā siddhiṃ gacchanti mānavāḥ //
nirākāre tu deveśe nārcanaṃ saṃbhaven nṛṇām /
na ca dhyānaṃ, na ca stotraṃ, tasmāt *sākāram arcayet* //
ākāre tu *kṛtā pūjā* stutir vā dhyānam eva vā /
vidhinā śāstra-dṛṣṭena *deva eva kṛtā bhavet* //
(3.5-8; cf. 24.19ff., VS 29.55-8)

Among the names of God, those which are equated with Brahman in a single verse seem to be almost limited to Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, and Nārāyaṇa. These three names denote the entire concept of the Supreme God, including both the nonpersonal and personal, and therefore take priority over the others, which are primarily employed to indicate His personal aspects. We have already

examined both personal and nonpersonal dimensions in analyzing the concept of God. Let us now examine other prominent characteristics of God, when addressed by these names, with special reference to their earlier usage.

3. *Viṣṇu*

Already in the oldest Saṃhitās, since they are the canonical texts of the Vaiṣṇavas, Viṣṇu's position is fully established as the Supreme God. His name is the most frequently evidenced throughout all of those texts. Among the other names, the only one that can compete with Viṣṇu in frequency of occurrence is Hari, probably, due in part to its fitting easily into the Sanskrit *śloka* meter in which our texts are written.

The Saṃhitās often presuppose the identity of Brahman and Viṣṇu. For instance in AS 4.4-6, Brahman's Śakti is replaced by Viṣṇu's vibration without any previous explanation of the relation between the two.[102] The same identification is apparently common to the *ViṣṇuP*, where Viṣṇu, invested with full potency, is the true form of, or identical with, Brahman:

sarva-śaktimayo viṣṇuḥ svarūpaṃ brahmaṇo 'param/ (1.22.60)
para-brahma-svarūpasya viṣṇoḥ[103] (6.7.60)
sa paraḥ sarva-śaktīnāṃ brahmaṇaḥ samanantaraḥ/ (1.22.62)
viṣṇu-saṃjñasya brahmaṇaḥ (6.7.68 & 102)

In other words, He represents the personified Brahman (*mūrtaṃ brahma*, 1.22.62),[104] the object of contemplation for yogins:

mūrtaṃ yad yogibhiḥ pūrvaṃ yogāraṃbheṣu cintyate // (1.22.60)
yador vaṃśaṃ naraḥ śrutvā sarva-pāpaiḥ pramucyate /

yatrāvatīrṇaṃ *viṣṇv-ākhyaṃ paraṃ brahma* nirākṛti // (4.11.2)

Viṣṇu of the Pāñcarātrikas may be understood in the same way. While His personified character (*ādi-mūrti*, SS 12.243) is clear, He is furnished with the full power of the active and dynamic Śakti;[105] hence *vaiṣṇavī śakti* is almost a frozen formula.[106] This Śakti, when included in Brahman, is unmanifest and static (*pratyastamita-lakṣaṇā*, PauS 20.6; cf. AS 4.74-8, 5.1-3). In the *Ahirbudhnya*, the will of Brahman, first introduced as the efficient cause of the creation and destruction of the world (2.7), is totally replaced by Viṣṇu's will in the relevant chapters 4 through 7.

But, as we recall, Brahman is a borrowed metaphysical principle that can nominally represent the nonpersonal aspect of God in the system of the popular and devotional cult of the Pāñcarātra liturgy. It follows, then, that the sectarians cannot regard Viṣṇu, who is their Supreme God, merely as the personified Brahman. This sort of expression is nowhere mentioned in the *Sātvata*, *Jayākhya*, *Ahirbudhnya*, *Parama* or even in the later *ViṣṇuS*. Moreover, at times, Viṣṇu appears to be a larger or higher category than Brahman. According to AS 51.47-8 and 50-1, Viṣṇu is a name given to Brahman combined with Śakti (cf. 3.25-6). Here the order in the *ViṣṇuP* is reversed. In other words, the equation of the *VP* is 'Brahman=Viṣṇu + Śakti', whereas that of the *AS* is 'Viṣṇu = Brahman + Śakti'; the roles of Brahman and Viṣṇu have been reversed. The *AS* equation is justifiable, because in Brahman the Śakti is latent and powerless, whereas it is active and dynamic in Viṣṇu. Consequently, it seems that the identification of Brahman with Viṣṇu in our texts is allowed, as a rule, only in the transcendent and

nonpersonal aspect which is common to both. Probably for this reason, the name Viṣṇu is never mentioned in *AS* Chapter 2, where we find a detailed explanation of Brahman, although Vāsudeva is included in the list of Its epithets (2.28) and Nārāyaṇa is identified with It in the same verse, i.e., 2.22.

The tendency to regard Viṣṇu as superior to Brahman may go back to the *Bhagavad-gītā*. One of the primary purposes of this well-known text is to recommend the worship of the personal God as it is easier than that of the nonpersonal, for the latter requires a great deal of intense intellectual application and cannot be pursued by everybody (BhG 12.1-5). A series of attributes beginning with *akṣaram anirdeśyam avyaktaṃ* (acc. sg.) in 12.3 refers to the nonpersonal Brahman as in 8.3 (*akṣaraṃ brahma paramam*, cf. 3.15), and Viṣṇu,[107] who of course is Kṛṣṇa, is Its foundation (*brahmaṇo hi pratiṣṭhāham*, 14.27). Arjuna, in this text, actually says that Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa is superior to Brahman (*garīyase brahmano 'pi*, 11.37). This interpretation of the last line goes against Śaṅkara. But there is a definite reason why Śaṅkara had to take the word *brahmaṇaḥ* as *hiraṇyagarbhasya*: in his system the personal god, *īśvara*, is Brahman restricted by *upādhi* and therefore cannot be the highest.[108] Viṣṇu's superiority to Brahman still continues in the *BhāgavataP* (e.g., 6.16.51-2). Probably because of this tendency, our earliest texts afford only few examples of equation of Viṣṇu and Brahman in a single verse. I have found only one instance each in the *Sātvata* (25.53; cf. 23.92) and *Pauṣkara* (30.26), and also in the *Ahirbudhnya* (51.39) (cf. JS 1.21-3).

It is often emphasized that a kindly and humane nature is one of the characteristics of Viṣṇu in contrast to the

wild and furious aspect of Rudra-Śiva. This nature of Viṣṇu, which is already distinct in the *Rigveda* and therefore originally ascribed to Him, is also found in our texts. Thus in the *Ahirbudhnya*, Viṣṇu's mercy is a dominant theme in the Chapter 14, which is devoted to an explanation of the *anugraha śakti* or the grace of God: e.g., *viṣṇoḥ kṛpā* (14.19), *karuṇāvarṣa* (14.31), *śakti-pāta* (14.30), *samīkṣita* (14.32) and *dayārdratā* (58.59), or *vaiṣṇavī kṛpā* (14.30), and also:

saṃsārānala-saṃtapta-cetanānujighṛkṣayā /
saṅkarṣaṇodayo viṣṇur ucyate...// (59.29)

When the name Viṣṇu is used, reference is explicitly made to the all-pervasive nature or omnipresence of the Supreme God, e.g., *yā vyāptir viṣṇutā ca sā /* (AS 55.22). This *vyāpti* is also termed *aniruddhatā* (*ibid.*, cf. AS 59.36), for according to the Pāñcarātra system, creation of the world practically begins with the fourth Vyūha Aniruddha (AS 5.40, 6.13-4). Hence the whole universe is said to be *viṣṇumaya* (VS 3.47-53). Viṣṇu is thus regarded as the *vyāpaka* (JS 16.299; vyāpin, NS 9.206) or the *sarva-gata vibhu* (JS 16.291). The following lines further illustrate this character of Viṣṇu:

*viśva-vyāptitaya*ivāiṣa viṣṇutvaṃ prāptavān prabhuḥ / (VS 3.55, cf. 3.41-2)

vyāptā me rodasī ... // ... / ... viṣṇur ity abhisaṃjñitaḥ // (MBh 12.328.37-8)

yasmād vyāptaṃ jagat tena, tasmād viṣṇur iti smṛtaḥ / (PS 2.98)

sarve ca viṣṇunaikena vyāptā ity avadhāraya / (VS 3.53, cf. 39)

This omnipresence of Viṣṇu is also evidenced in other texts. For instance, in the *Harivaṃśa* the following verses are interpolated:

yathā palala-piṇḍaḥ syād vyāptaḥ snehena mānada!/
tathā *jagad idaṃ vyāptaṃ viṣṇunā* prabhaviṣṇunā //
(2.71.27)

evaṃ sṛṣṭvā jagat sarvaṃ *vyāpya sarvaṃ* vyavasthitaḥ //
vyāpya sarvān imāṃl lokān sthitaḥ *sarvatra* keśava! /
tataś ca viṣṇu-nāmāsi *dhātor vyāpteś* ca *darśanāt* //
(3.88.42-3)

Likewise, Śaṅkara (on KaUp 3.9) and Nīlakaṇṭha (on H 1.1.3) explain Viṣṇu as *vyāpana-śīla*, and also Sāyaṇa says (on TA 10.1, p. 700), "sa ca svakīyena vāstavena parabrahma-rūpeṇa *vyāpitvād* Viṣṇuḥ."[109]

In the *Ahirbudhnya*, the name Viṣṇu is derived from the root *viṣ*, to pervade:[110]

vyāpnoti deśa-kālābhyāṃ sarvaṃ yad rūpato 'pi ca /
tat paraṃ gaditaṃ sadbhir *viṣer dhātor* nirūpaṇāt //
(52.39)

But the commoner derivation would be from the root *viś*, to enter:

cetanācetanāḥ sarve viśanty eva yataḥ svayam /
mahīyāṃsaṃ viśaty eva yo 'ṇīyān aṇuṣu svayam //
sa paro gaditaḥ sadbhir *viśer dhātor* nirūpaṇāt /
(52.42-3, cf. 54.25-7)

This is the derivation that is often noted in the Purāṇas,[111] for example in VP 3.1.45:

yasmād viśvam idaṃ sarvaṃ tasya śaktyā mahātmanaḥ /
tasmād sa procyate viṣṇur *viśer dhātoḥ* praveśaṇāt //
viśater yā viṣṇuḥ praveśaṇa-śīlaḥ (Śrīdhara on VP 1.1.2)

These derivations do not necessarily accord with the views of modern etymologists,[112] but they do reflect the popular beliefs of the Vaiṣṇavas from of old, with respect to the essential nature of their God. Thus the common

derivation from *viś*, to enter, seems to have been put forward by later theologians in order to furnish a linguistic proof of Viṣṇu's immanence,[113] which can be scarcely gathered from Vedic notions of the God's all-pervasiveness.

The origin of the transcendent and all-covering nature of Viṣṇu is traceable in the *Ṛgveda*. On occasion, the Vedic poets count Viṣṇu among the great gods,[114] and extol his greatness (*mahitvá*), which comprises a transformational power equalled by no other god (7.99.1, 7.100.6).[115] By this greatness he is said to have stridden the three strides (7.100.3, 8.12.27, cf. 10.113.2). This is, as often referred to, one of his most outstanding features in the *Ṛgveda*, and simply by that act he can be distinguished from the other gods (8.29.7). In his wide strides all beings live (1.154.2, *bhúvanāni víśvā*), while he himself dwells far away from this world (7.100.5, 8.15.9). Accordingly, though in other places the locality of the strides appears to be limited to the earthly regions,[116] it is stated that mortals manage to see the first two of them, but no one can dare the third and the highest (1.155.5). Later in the *Mahābhārata*, this feature of the Vedic Viṣṇu is utilized to explain the name itself (*viṣṇur vikramaṇād eva*, 5.68.13; or *kramaṇāt*, 12.328.38) and is referred to in 5.10.6, where Viṣṇu is said to cover the three worlds by His three strides. The Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās often prescribe to recite the famous Viṣṇu Sūkta of the *Ṛgveda* (RV 1.22.17), which is named as *pavitra mantra* (SS 25.115).

The *Sātvata*, for example, says as follows:

idaṃ viṣṇur vicakrama ṛṅ-mayaiḥ saha pāṭhayet //
(SS 25.53)

Vicakrama power of Viṣṇu has thus in the Pāñcarātra liturgy been held in high esteem.

As already in the *Ṛgveda* one of the purposes for His strides is explicitly "for the sake of man in distress" (6.49.13). These three strides have been taken over by an Avatāra, Vāmana-Trivikrama, and become the famous motif of his legend cycle, ever since Viṣṇu was raised to the Supreme God. The transfer of the three strides from Viṣṇu to Vāmana in the history of Sanskrit literature starts from the *ŚatapathaBr* 1.2.5 and 1.9.3.9, and at that time the identity of Viṣṇu and the "sacrifice" that was the central principle of the Brāhmaṇas had already been established (*yajñam eva viṣṇum*, ŚatBr 1.2.5.3, or *yajño vai viṣṇuḥ*, ŚatBr 1.9.3.9).

If the three strides, the most distinctive achievement of Viṣṇu in the *Ṛgveda*, are thus removed from the god, there arises strong likelihood that Viṣṇu may have been identified with the Cosmic Puruṣa of RV 10.90.[117] Both Viṣṇu and the Puruṣa possess several essential features in common. The transcendent and all-covering nature of the latter is clearly indicated in RV 10.90.1-4:

sá bhúmiṃ viśváto vṛtvá 'tyatiṣṭhat, etc.

A transformational power, to become the whole universe in his case, is given to the Puruṣa through the sacrifice (see RV 10.90.8-14). In the Brāhmaṇas the identity of Viṣṇu and the sacrifice is fully established,[118] whereas the Puruṣa is the very offering (*havís*, 10.90.6) or victim (*paśú*, 10.90.15). Moreover, the root *vi-kram-*, almost monopolized by Viṣṇu in the *Ṛgveda*,[119] occurs in RV 10.90.4. Later, the identity of Viṣṇu and the Puruṣa is apparently known to the *Ahirbudhnya*. In AS 59.5-39, where RV 10.90.1-5 is interpreted, it is only Viṣṇu who is allowed to be a substitution for the Puruṣa, with whom each one of the four Vyūhas is identified (cf. AS 59.10-1, 22-3, 31 & 34 with 59.29-30). Consequently, Viṣṇu's all-

pervasive and immanent nature, which is not yet clear in the *Ṛgveda*, seems to have its origin in the Vedic notion of the Cosmic Puruṣa expressed in RV 10.90.3 (*pādo 'sya viśvā bhūtáni*), 4 (*pādo 'syehābhavat*), and 8-14. Also from this Puruṣa's notion, Viṣṇu may have obtained such epithets as *viśvātman* (e.g., JS 1.3) and *viśvātmaka* (e.g., JS 12.21). However, they are equally applied to Nārāyaṇa and so forth.[120] In this connection, one may regard RV 10.90.12 as the probable source of the later Vaiṣṇava's stubborn persistence on the *varṇāśrama dharma* as in the *Bhagavad-gītā* (e.g., 4.13), *ViṣṇuP* (3.8, cf. 2.6.28, etc.), and in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.[121]

As the transcendent and all-pervasive God of the Vaiṣṇavas, Viṣṇu possesses *viśva-rūpa* or universal form,[122] the episode of which is vividly narrated in the *BhG* chapter 11. It is also explained in *Ahirbudhnya* 44.31 as follows:

anyad *viśvamayaṃ rūpam* adṛṣṭaṃ deva-dānavaiḥ /
amīmāṃsyam amaryādam acakṣur-gocaraṃ svataḥ //

Because the form is infinite,[123] it cannot be an object of the physical eye;[124] hence one might say that it is formless. It can be seen only with *yoga-dṛṣṭi* (AS 44.34) or with *divya-cakṣus* (BhG 11.8). Thus *ViṣṇuS* 1.17 (cf. VP 6.7.54) reads:

viśva-rūpam arūpaṃ taṃ dṛṣṭavān asmi rūpiṇam //

Being comprised of both the personal and nonpersonal dimensions within Himself, Viṣṇu who was a mighty Vedic god would be the most suitable denomination for representing the whole range of the popular belief, that is, Vaiṣṇavism. Viṣṇu's supremacy, however, remains far beyond the cognizance of mundane man.

4. *Vāsudeva*

As against Viṣṇu, who holds the original priority of

transcendence and omnipresence the outstanding characteristic of Vāsudeva definitely consists in the immanence of God. To cite a few examples from our texts,

sarva-bhūtādhivāsaś ca vāsudevas tato hy aham /
(MBh 12.328.36)

sarva-bhūta-kṛtāvāso vāsudeveti cocyate//
(MBh 12.335.87)

samasta-bhūta-vāsitvād vāsudevaḥ prakīrtitaḥ //
(AS 2.28)

vasaty asmin yato *viśvaṃ, tatrāpi* ca *vasaty aham* //
(AS 52.65)

Similar explanations are also found in the Purāṇas, e.g.,

sarvatrāsau, samastaṃ ca *vasaty atreti* vai yataḥ /
tataḥ sa vāsudeveti vidvadbhiḥ paripaṭhyate //
(VP 1.2.12)

sarvāni tatra *bhūtāni vasanti paramātmani* /
bhūteṣu ca sa *sarvātmā*, vāsudevas tataḥ smṛtaḥ //
(VP 6.5.80, cf. 82)

sa *sarva-vāsi-devatvād* vāsudevety udāhṛtaḥ /
(Viṣṇudharma 102)[125]

Hence Vāsudeva as the immanent God is often called (Parama-) Ātman[126] or the Kṣetrajña[127] of all creatures; e.g., cf.,

sarva-bhūtātma-bhūto hi vāsudevaḥ
(MBh 12.326.31; cf. VP 6.4.7)

kṣetrajñaṃ sarva-bhūtānāṃ
(AS 15.17, LT 2.5; cf. MBh 12.326.38, 332.17)

He is also *viśveśa* (SS 6.131) or *sarveśvara* (SS 19.119), the lord of all.

As Vāsudeva is thus immanent in this world, He is accessible to all beings, for which fact we have already adduced textual evidence. The teaching that everybody

can participate in the worship of Vāsudeva with *bhakti* (*sarvaiḥ saṃbhajanīyaḥ*, AS 52.70) seems, as we have seen, to have been prevalent already at the time of Pāṇini (4.3.98), and is the well-known central theme of the *Bhagavad-gītā*.[128] The God of the *BhG* declares:

ye yathā *māṃ prapadyante*, tāṃs tathaiva bhajāmy aham /
mama vartmānuvartante manuṣyāḥ pārtha! sarvaśaḥ //
(4.11)

yo mām evam asaṃmūḍho jānāti puruṣottamam /
sa sarva-vid *bhajati māṃ* sarva-bhāvena bhārata! //
(15.19, cf. 6.31, 9.13 & 29)

... bhajante māṃ janāḥ
(7.16 & 28, cf. 6.47, 9.32, 10.8 & 10)

These words eventually mean that God is reciprocally accessible by means of *bhakti*: *bhaktyā labhyaḥ* (BhG 8.22; cf. 11.54, 18.55). Among the later Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, the *Parama* specifically adopts this kind of teaching: e.g.,

bhajate ya·li mām eva śaraṇaṃ puruṣaḥ svayam /
(30.23; cf. LT 28.59)

bhajante tatra mām eva ... (30.92)

... bhajate mām ekāgreṇa cetasā / (30.103)

bhajasva sarva-bhāvena paramātmānam acyutam //
(31.50; cf. BhG 9.33, LT 28.19)

and characterizes the *bhakta*s as follows:

yady asya hṛdayaṃ tīvraṃ sahasā bhajate harim //
apriye vā priye vāpi, sa bhakta iti kīrtyate / (24.14-5)

Accordingly, Vāsudeva is the God whom Ekāntin *bhakta*s worship with ardent *bhakti* and *śraddhā*:

ekāntino mudā-yuktā viṣṇu-bhakti-parāyaṇāḥ /
śraddhayā parayopetā vāsudevam upāsate // (31.30)

So far as our earliest texts are concerned, this concep-

tion of Vāsudeva is not so distinct as in the *Parama*. But, significantly, it is already anticipated in those old texts, for they totally exclude the *abhaktas* from their religion (PauS 30.210-9), and forbid the teaching of the secret[129] doctrine of the Pāñcarātra to those who have no devotion[130] to Vāsudeva:

idam ākhyānam ārṣeyaṃ pāraṃparyāgataṃ nṛpa! /
nāvāsudeva-bhaktāya tvayā deyaṃ kathaṃcana //
(MBh 12.326.113)

saṃhiteyaṃ *mahā-guhyā* ... // nāvāsudeva-bhaktāya tvayā deyā kathaṃcana / (AS 59.70-1; cf. LT 57.41)

To avoid misunderstanding, it may be mentioned here that, as already in the *BhG* the identification of Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu (or Kṛṣṇa) is complete, devotees can participate in the worship of the Supreme God under the other names as well; for instance, cf.,

bhajante ye narā viṣṇuṃ manasā karmaṇā girā /
na teṣāṃ durlabhaṃ kiṃcid iha loke paratra ca //
(PS 31.43)

In this connection, the following verse from the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (10.37) may be of some interest:

priya iti gopa-vadhūbhiḥ, śiśur iti vṛddhair, adhīśa iti devaiḥ /
nārāyaṇa iti *bhaktair*, brahmety agrāhi *yogibhir* devaḥ//

The accessibility of Vāsudeva naturally forms a striking contrast to the supremacy of Viṣṇu. This contrast is better illustrated in the usage of the root *viś- or pra-viś-*, which is also used together with Vāsudeva. In both cases, with Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva, the root retains the same basic meaning, *to enter*, and indicates how is maintained the God's relation to this mundane world. But there is a difference in its usage. With regard to Viṣṇu, as the root

is primarily employed in order to give an etymological explanation for the name by way of introducing His immanence, the agent is God Himself. But in the case of Vāsudeva who is accessible to man, the agent, is often shifted to His devotees. Upon entering God, they are said to attain *mokṣa*. Thus our earliest texts read, for instance, as follows:

yaṃ praviśya bhavantīha muktā vai dvija-sattama! /
sa vāsudevo vijñeyaḥ paramātmā sanātanaḥ //
(MBh 12.326.24; cf., BhG 7.19, 11.54-5)

tatas traiguṇya-hīnās te *paramātmānam* añjasā /
praviśanti dvija-śreṣṭha! kṣetrajñaṃ nirguṇātmakam /
sarvāvāsaṃ vāsudevaṃ kṣetrajñaṃ viddhi tattvataḥ //
samāhita-manaskāś ca niyatāḥ saṃyatendriyāḥ /
ekānta-bhāvopagatā vāsudevaṃ viśanti te //
(MBh 12.332.17-8)

kṣetrajñaṃ sarva-bhūtānāṃ *vāsudevaṃ viśanti* te //
(AS 15.17; cf. BhG 18.55, VP 2.12.46)

However, it seems the immanent aspect of God that has promoted the identification of the Vedic god Viṣṇu with Vāsudeva of the popular Bhāgavatas. Originally these two gods had no relation whatever to each other, belonging to the different religious traditions in ancient India. But, as is already pointed out, Viṣṇu, an all-encompassing god of the Vedas, probably obtained his immanent character from the notion of the Cosmic Puruṣa in RV 10.90. When it is true, he must thereafter have been identified with the immanent, accessible Vāsudeva, who was the Supreme God of the Bhāgavatas, the then popularly flourishing cult. We shall discuss this identification in more detail later.

Since the immanent accessibility of Vāsudeva is much emphasized in our Saṃhitā texts, there are not many

examples of His being identified with Brahman, the transcendent and nonpersonal, in a single verse. But those instances[131] are at least a few more in number than the identification of Viṣṇu with Brahman. The only example that the *Jayākhya* furnishes indicates that the Absolute Brahman, when called Vāsudeva, is accessible:

dhyātvā parityajed dehaṃ nityābhyāsa-rato yadi /
sa brahma param *abhyeti* vāsudevākhyam avyayam // (33.59)

A similar implication is to be found also in the *Pauṣkara*:

parasya brahmaṇaḥ ... / *mūrtir* vai vāsudevākhyā ... // (38.192; further, cf. 36.83-4 & 268, 38.306)

It is here explicit that Vāsudeva is a form of the Absolute Brahman. According to the *Sātvata*, the name Vāsudeva is applied to that Brahman which is born into this world with a distinct form, although Vāsudeva himself is said to be *sarva-ga* and *amūrta* (SS 8.52-3, 19.119-20).

jāyate tat param brahma vāsudevākhyam avyayam // (SS 19.140)
sa ṣāḍguṇya-mayo brahma vāsudevo 'dhva-mūrti-bhṛt// (SS 19.148; cf. 19.42-3)
vāsudevāya ... / ... ananta-mūrtaye ... (SS 23.52)

Brahman in the SS 2.4, which is quoted by Rāmānuja in his *Śrībhāṣya* on 2.2.41, should be interpreted as the embodied.

Furthermore, the *Ahirbudhnya*, by way of applying this equation, seems to suggest that the supreme Vāsudeva is immanent and accessible at the same time. For in AS 4.69 and 53.10 (cf. PauS 20.65-6 &70), the identification is only allowed between Brahman and the first Vyūha, Vāsudeva. According to the Pāñcarātra system, the supreme Vāsudeva and the first Vyūha are not separate, but

represent two aspects of one and the same God.[132] The only difference between these two is that the former is unmanifest and inactive, whereas the latter becomes manifest and active (PauS 20.72, AS 5.32-4). To explain the matter figuratively, one is asleep at night, while the other is awaking in the early morning.[133] Here again we see analogy with man: one and same person sleeps at night and becomes active after waking in the morning. At the break of cosmic Day, Pāñcarātra explains, the world creation theoretically begins within the first Vyūha, Vāsudeva, in whom the Śakti of Viṣṇu becomes manifest as though awaking consciously for further evolution (AS 3.26-9, 5.2-7). During a cosmic Day the world remains created; hence the second Vyūha, Saṅkarṣaṇa, is said to be the lord of the cosmic Day (AS 4.66 & 78, 5.30-1). The beginning part of the cosmic creation is attributed to the 3rd and 4th Vyūhas, namely, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, who entrusts Brahmā to carry out the practical creation of this diverse universe.

When the Evening comes, the universe proceedes to dissolve in the reverse order finally into Vāsudeva, the indescribable transcendent Brahman (AS 4.68-9); hence this Vāsudeva or Brahman is said to be the cosmic Night (4.70).

This scheme of the Pāñcarātra cosmogony reflects the immanent accessibility of Vāsudeva retaining all the supremacy of Brahman well integrated within the transformational process of the four Vyūhas, of which the first Vyūha is God's primal manifestation. Thus, Vāsudeva is the *Ādi-deva* of the Pāñcarātra (SS 5.98, 7. 77, 8.158) to get manifest in theory at the very first stage of creation, for which reason, it seems, He is said to be the highest god and His name is most popularly found in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.

5. *Nārāyaṇa*

Nārāyaṇa is the one name that is frequently equated with Brahman in a single verse.[134] Since similar examples are comparatively rare in the case of Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva, this frequent equation forms one of the outstanding characteristics of Nārāyaṇa in the Saṃhitās. Unfortunately, however, the reason is not clear enough. Such expressions as *nārāyaṇaḥ paraṃ brahma* become almost frozen tags from the time of the *Sātvata* (17.419), *Pauṣkara* (30.99, cf. 19.3) and *Jayākhya* (1.61, 4.118), and rapidly increase in the later *LakṣmīT*.[135] One thing that can be inferred from the descriptions of our texts at present would be that the purpose of this identification is to emphasize simultaneously the personal and transcendent aspects of God, since Brahman is primarily nonpersonal principle incorporated as the ultimate reality in the Pāñcarātra system. This veiw is confirmed by the interpretation of the name Nārāyaṇa given in our Saṃhitās. We shall first examine the traditional explanation of the Purāṇas, and then the interpretation of the Pāñcarātrikas will become clear.

By the time of the *ViṣṇuP*, it is evident that Nārāyaṇa whose essential form is Brahman has long been associated with water:

idaṃ codāharanty atra ślokaṃ nārāyaṇaṃ prati /
brahma-svarūpiṇaṃ devaṃ jagataḥ prabhavāpyayam //
āpo nārā iti proktā, āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ /
ayanaṃ tasya tāḥ pūrvaṃ, tena nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ //
(VP 1.4.5-6)

The last verse is a direct quotation from *Manu* 1.10, and similar verses are found in a number of places in the epics and Purāṇas.[136] According to this tradition, Nārāyaṇa is a

god who has the waters as his resting abode before the creation and after dissolution of this world.[137] Nārāyaṇa as such a god is not foreign to Sanskrit literature in general. For instance, in the *Vikramacarita* he is the *jala-śayana* god[138] or the *jala-devatā*.[139] Rāmānuja also follows the same idea, as he introduces a *paurāṇika* passage in his *Śrībhāṣya* on 1.3.29:

sṛṣṭvā *nāraṃ toyam* antaḥ-sthito 'haṃ yena, syān me nāma nārāyaṇeti / kalpe kalpe tatra śayāmi
(p. 451, lines 7-8)

Therefore, Nārāyaṇa may have originally been a water-god, as remarked by L. Renou.[140]

The Pāñcarātrikas appear to have respect for this tradition. But from the time of the Nārāyaṇīya, they have developed their own interpretation, which centres on the phrase *nārā nara-sūnavaḥ*. In the *Mahābhārata*, Nārāyaṇa is interpreted as the "abode or goal of men":

narāṇām ayanāc cāpi tena nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ / (5.68.10)

According to one passage in the Nārāyaṇīya, this kind of interpretation is apparently based upon the old *śloka* mentioned in the *ViṣṇuP*:

narāṇām ayanaṃ khyātam aham ekaḥ sanātanaḥ /
āpo nārā iti proktā, *āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ* /
ayanaṃ mama tat pūrvam, ato nārāyaṇo by aham //
(MBh 12.328.35)

It is this juxtaposition of both ideas that seems to be the source of the later Saṃhitā interpretation, which concentrates on the denotations of the first and second *nara*. Evidently, both of these cannot designate the same entity. Also compare *ViṣṇuS* 3.59:

nara-nārī-prakartṛtvān *narāṇāṃ cāyanād* ayam /
nārāyaṇo narotthānām ayanatvād *apāṃ ca* saḥ //

The first *nara*, used in the plural number, keeps its usual meaning "man" or "people." But this is an interpre-

tation that is not specifically given in the old *śloka*, and therefore must have been firstly introduced by the Pāñcarātrikas themselves or some unknown worshippers of Nārāyaṇa in older days. It is possible that they obtained the idea by equating the word *nāra* directly with *nara-sūnu* with the possible omission of the middle term *ap*, 'water'. This view will be supported by AS 52.54, where *nārāḥ* is synonymous with *ātmanaḥ* or individual selves:

paramā ca gatis teṣāṃ nārāṇām ātmanāṃ sadā //
(cf. 52.51 & 57)

Further, upon glossing TA 6.6.2, Sāyaṇa apparently reads *narāḥ* in place of *nārāḥ*: *narāḥ balīvardānāṃ prerakā manuṣyāḥ* (ĀnSS 36-1, p.430, line 6).

In order to see how the Pāñcarātrikas obtained this interpretation, we must determine what they thought the second *nara* refers to in the phrase *nara-sūnavaḥ*. There may have been a tradition of taking the word as denoting the *jīva*. Thus in his commentary on the *Harivaṃśa*, Nīlakaṇṭha explains the name of God as follows:

nareṇa anādy-avidyāvatā *jīvena* svakarma-dvārā sṛṣṭaṃ *nāraṃ śarīraṃ, tad eva ayanaṃ* praveśa-sthānaṃ yasya sa, taṃ nārāyaṇaṃ jīvān niyamayitum antaḥ-praviṣṭaṃ śāstāram / (on H 1.1.1)

naro 'vidyāvacchinnaṃ brahma, tena svātmani kalpitam īśasūtra-virāḍ-antaṃ *nāraṃ*, tasya samūlasya *ayanaṃ* sthānaṃ nārāyaṇaḥ śuddhaṃ vastu ... / (on H 3.7.9)

One may also compare his commentary on MBh 12.341.39-40 and Sāyaṇa on TA 10.1.6 (p. 700).

But according to the *Ahirbudhnya*, the word *nara* is to be taken as referring to God Himself:[141]

nara-saṃbandhino nārā, *naraḥ sa puruṣottamaḥ* /
nayaty akhila-vijñānaṃ, nāśayaty akhilaṃ tamaḥ //
na riṣyati ca sarvatra, *naras tasmāt sanātanaḥ* /
(52.50-1)

Nāra then naturally[142] means evereything, the sentient and insentient, that is related to Him in several ways:

narā saṃbandhinaḥ sarve cetanācetanātmakāḥ //
īśitavyatayā nārā dhārya-poṣyatayā tathā /
niyāmyatvena sṛjyatva-praveśa-haraṇais tathā //
(52.51-2)

Consequently, Nārāyaṇa is explained in the text as God in whom Nara and Nāras have reciprocal connection:

ayate nikhilān nārān, vyāpnoti kriyayā tathā /
nāraś cāpy ayanaṃ tasya, tais tad-bhāva-nirūpaṇāt //
nārāṇām ayanaṃ vāsas, te ca tasyāyanaṃ sadā /
paramā ca gatis teṣāṃ nārāṇām ātmanāṃ sadā //
āpo nārā iti proktās, tā apy ayanam asya ca /
ato nārāyaṇo nāma hetubhir darśitaḥ paraḥ //
(52.53-5)

In the later texts, the denotation of *nāra* is extended to indicate all the principles of the Pāñcarātra creation theory, and is equated to the ocean of causes wherein the water is Nārāyaṇa: e.g., *BrahmaS* 5.16 reads,

nārāyaṇaḥ sa bhagavān āpas, tasmāt sanātanāt /
āvirāsīt *kāraṇārṇo-nidhiḥ* saṅkarṣaṇātmakaḥ //

In his commentary on *BrahmaS* 5.1, Jīva-Gosvāmin quotes the following verse from the *Mahābhārata*:

bhārate ca
narāj jātāni *tattvāni nārāṇīti* vidur budhāḥ /
tasya tāny ayanaṃ pūrvaṃ, tena nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ //
(p. 4, lines 7-8)

Nandapaṇḍita, who flourished around A.D. 1600, cites an almost identical verse in his *Keśavavaijayantī* on the *Viṣṇusmṛti*:

narāj jātāni *tattvāni nārāṇīti* tato viduḥ /
tāny eva cāyanaṃ tasya, tena nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ //
iti smṛteś ca/

and explains the name Nārāyaṇa in the following way:

naraḥ paramātmā, "nayatīti naraḥ proktaḥ paramātmā sanātanaḥ" iti vyāsa-smaraṇāt / narāj jātāny *ākāśādīni kāryāṇi nārāṇi* / tāny ayanaṃ sthānaṃ yasya.
(on 1.50 and 98.98)

Likewise in *SātvataT* 1.34,

narād utpanna-*tattvānāṃ* saṅgrahe nāra-saṃjñake / ayanaṃ tasya yad abhūt, tasmān nārāyaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ //

Finally, Sāyaṇa (on TA 10.11) gives a similar explanation as an alternative, after citing the old *śloka*:

yad vā prakṛter paraḥ (naraḥ)[143] / *tasmāj jātāni yāni, tāni nāra-śabdenocyante* / tāny etāny evāyanaṃ sthānaṃ yasya, sa nārāyaṇaḥ / (ĀnSS 36-2, pp. 727-8, cf. p. 700)

It is now evident that in all the above passages from the Saṃhitās Nārāyaṇa's relation to water becomes more and more obscured. It is all but ignored in the explanation of the name given in the *Ahirbudhnya*, and is used merely as a metaphor in the *BrahmaS*. The only explanation that the *Parama* offers (2.96-7) does not even refer to water. Among the earliest of the Saṃhitās, so far as I know, it is evidenced only in *Pauṣkara* 42.41, which mentions *nārāyaṇaṃ apāṃ mūrtim ... sannidhīkṛtya*. Accordingly, it seems that the sporadic mentioning of, and reference to, the old *śloka*, *āpo nārā*, etc., is simply to adduce scriptural testimony for the validity of the Saṃhitā explanations. All the above quotations point to have *nāra* or *nara-sūnu* interpreted as products from *nara*.

In this way deviating from the old traditional explanation, the Pāñcarātrikas formed a new conception of Nārāyaṇa. That is to say, especially the earlier passages and even that of the later *ViṣṇuS*, while neglecting the relation to water and yet using the same old alliterative word play, preserve the close connection between Nara as

God or the first highest principle and Nāras as His creatures or products under the name of Nārāyaṇa.[144] The same idea of Nārāyaṇa as the personal God closely connected with *nara* for 'man' has already been examined in the case of the epithet *puruṣottama* with *puruṣa* for 'man', to which is related the following expression:

dhyātvā *Nārāyaṇam* devaṃ nirguṇaṃ *puruṣottamam* /
(NS 11.63)

This idea was the essential viewpoint of the God among the early Pāñcarātrikas.

In addition, we should take note here of another point wherein all the above quotations remarkably agree with each other, that is, that Nārāyaṇa is the creator of this world. The entire section of the Nārāyaṇīya is, one might say, devoted to such a conception of Nārāyaṇa. On the other hand, as Schrader correctly observes,[145] the theoretical doctrine of the Pāñcarātra is almost inseparably bound up with cosmogony. Thus, we are now led to examine the relation of Nārāyaṇa to the Pāñcarātra cosmogony, a theme of our next chapter, where a few of other characteristics of this God will be given.

REFERENCES

1. MBh 12.328.35-51, 330.1-67 (cf. MBh 5.68.2-14), PS 2.95-9, VS 3.55-63.
2. Also see PauS 19.38-47, LT 2.8-11 *et passim*, VP 6.5.71ff., H 31.59.
3. MBh 12.330.57, cf. BhG 4.13, 13.29 & 31; *niṣkriya*, MBh 12.325.4.2, 326.23, 30 & 41, PauS 22.62, NS 9.35; *sarva-kriyā-vinirmukta*, SS 5.81, JS 4.61; *nirvyāpāra*, PS 2.106, VS 4.46; *akriya*, VS 15.17.
4. JS 6.221-3, AS 3.5 & 72-3, 44.55-6. Lakṣmī is said to be Viṣṇu's *vyāpāra* (LT 11.6; cf. AS 3.45, LT 14.3) or *vyāpriyamāṇatā* (LT 11.7, cf. AS 9.40). See Note I.13 of my Translation.
5. For the androgynous character of primeval cosmogonic beings, see Gonda, *Savayajñas*, pp. 344ff. & Eliade, *The Two*, pp. 78-124.

6. Cf. VP 1.8.32.
7. Also see LT 2.11-21, JS 3.17-20, AS 3.4-5, 8.46, 21.7. For *brahma-śakti*, see AS 21.7-12.
8. Cf. LT 22.7-8.
9. Cf. LT 8.8-9, 15.8-11.
10. Also *uttamaṃ paramārthataḥ*, SS 5.81 ; *parama dhāma*, SS 7.3; *viśvātīta*, SS 23.47; *parā kāṣṭhā*, JS 4.61; *sarvātiśāyin*, PauS 19.43; cf. KaUp 3.11. *tattvātītaḥ paraḥ*, NS 1.28.
11. This seems to be the basic idea of Rāmānuja in his definition of *para-brahman*; cf. *sarva-vastu-vijātīyatā*, VAS 82 (p. 119.8), 134 (p. 165.10), 140 (p. 169.4). For details, see VAS 136. Cf. SDS 4.37, *aśeṣa-viśeṣa-pratyanīkam*.
12. E.g., *dhruva*, MBh 12.321.28, AS 2.7, LT 10.5, 17.5, cf. BAUp 4.4.20, VP 3.3.21, and see Gonda, *Brahman*, p. 48; *nitya*, AS 2.31, 13.18; *sanātana*, PauS 19.45, JS 1.21, NS 9.204, LT 2. 16; *śāśvata*, JS 1.14, 4.2, AS 21.5, NS 3.64, 9.35. Also see PauS 19.39.
13. E.g., *akṣara*, PauS 19.39, JS 1.21, AS 2.6 & 32, 21.5, LT 11.2, cf. BhG 8.3, and see Gonda, *Brahman*, pp. 47-8; *akṣaya*, JS 1.14; *ajara*, AS 2.7, LT 22.16; *avyaya*, PauS 13.13, 19.42, AS 2.6 & 36, 13.18, NS 9.205.
14. E.g., *avikāra*, PauS 22.2, JS 6.220; *nirvikāra*, SS 19.119, PauS 19.40, JS 6.209, LT 2.8.
15. E.g., anādy-ananta, SS 19.119; *anādy-anta*, JS 4.63, 70 & 101-2, AS 2.6 & 22, LT 22.5; *nitya*, SS 19.120; *sanātana-tanu*, SS 25.119.
16. *nir-dvandva*, MBh 12.326.42, 330.57, BhG 2.45, 5.3 & 17; *sarva-dvandva-vinirmukta*, AS 2.53, cf. BhG 15.5; *advaya*, SanatkS Indra 6.41, LT 2.11. See also BhG 4.22 (dvandvātīta), 7.28 (dvandva-moha-nirmukta); and Hume, Intro. to *Thirteen Ups*, pp. 62-3.
17. E.g., *aparimita*, SS 23.50, AS 2.32; *ananta*, SS 6.212, PauS 19.42 & 45, AS 2.31, 9.37; *apāra*, PauS 19.42, AS 13.17; *anidhana*, SS 19.120.
18. I.e., *nirguṇa*, MBh 12.326.22 & 42, 339.2, 14 & 17, JS 1.17, 4.65, AS 2.55, NS 9.204; *paripūrṇa-guṇojjhita*, PauS 19.43. Cf. BhG 13.31, ŚvetUp 6.11 & 19.
19. E.g., *sarvopādhi-vivarjita*, JS 4.106, AS 2.53 *sarva-lakṣaṇa-vivarjita*, NS 9.205.
20. Cf. *na vijñeyaṃ rūpavān iti*, MBh 12.326.42; *amūrta*, SS 2.70, *et passim*, PauS 29.34, 33.118; *pralīna-mūrti*, SS 6.212; *na tasya vidyate ... rūpam*, JS 4.110; *anākāra*, LT 22.4; *aprakāra*, LT 8.4; cf. BAUp 4.4.7, VP 4.11.2 (*nirākṛti*).
21. Also see JS 4.77, AS 2.9, 9.37, LT 22.4, 43.20. Cf. Deussen, *Philosophy of Ups*, pp. 151-6.
22. E.g., *pramāṇair apariccheḍyam*, JS 4.105; *na tasya vidyate mānam*, JS 4.110; *aprameya* SS 25.119, PauS 10.6, AS 9.37, 33.49, LT 32.30-1, BhG 11.17 & 42. Cf. BAUp 4.4.20.
23. I.e., *atīndriya*, PauS 20.76, JS 5.29, 16.277, MBh 12. 326.20. Cf. SDS 4.372-3, KenaUp 2-8.
24. MBh 12.321.5-6 & 28, JS 4.66, cf. MBh 12.326.20ff., 339.4; *agrāhya*, PauS 19.42.
25. E.g., *sarva-śakti*, SS 17.409, 19.119, 23.52, 25.122, PauS 19.40, JS 4.70 & 101, 6.223, AS 2.7 & 62, LT 10.5; *ananta-śakti*, SS 17.412, 23.57, PauS 38.180; *sarva-kartṛ* PauS 43.113.
26. I.e., *eka eva*: e.g., JS 4.110, AS 2.22, LT 2.10, 8.5, 32.29. Cf. *ekam eva advitīyam*, ChUp 6.3.2.1-2.
27. I.e., *advaita*: SanatkS Indra 6.41, LT 2.11.
28. E.g., *sarvato samatāṃ gatam*, AS 5.2, cf. LT 2.8; *suśānta*, PauS 19.40, cf. 20.76; (*pra-*) *śānta*, SS 2.69, 6.212, PauS 19.46, 27.239, JS 1.77, 2.8, AS 51.65, NS 9.204, LT 2.8 & 10; *stimita*, AS 5.3, 9.38, LT 22.7.
29. E.g., *akṣobhya*, JS 1.21; *aprakampya*, LT 8.4; *niṣkampa*, PauS 19.47; *acala*, MBh 12.321.30, PauS 19.40, AS 51.65.
30. E.g., *nirālamba*, JS 5.29, NS 9.34, LT 2.9, 10.5; or *svādhīna* & *svatantra*, JS 4.101. Also cf. *nirādhāra* (Gonda, *Brahman*, pp. 48-9).
31. I.e., *niṣkala*, MBh 12.326.22, AS 51.39, LT 16.24; *su-niṣkala*, SS 19.120; *parāpara-vivarjita*, NS 9.208.
32. E.g., *śūnya* (*-tva*), PauS 33.130, AS 5.3, NS 9.205, LT 8.5, 32.31; *guṇa-śūnya*, LT 14.1. Cf. Śaṅkara's Intro. to ChUp 8.1.1: *dig-deśa-guṇa-gati-phala-śūnyaṃ ... brahma*.
33. SS 19.139 (*nistaraṅga*), PauS 22.70, 33.151, AS 2.23, 9.38, 24.7, LT 2.10, 3.4, 4.7, 32.32. Cf. PauS 1.41, 22.3.
34. AS 5.3, 9.38, LT 4.7.
35. E.g., *sarvopamāna-rahita*, JS 5.29; *anaupamya*, SS 2.70, 6.212, PauS 19.41, 20.76, JS 4.61, 16.277, LT 10.12, cf. VP 1.22.41; *anupama*, AS 9.37, LT 8.4, 22.4.
36. E.g., *vikalpoparata*, SS 17.38; *apratarkya*, JS 16.277; *atarka*, PauS 19.42; *amīmāṃsya*, AS 44.31, cf. AS 49.61 (Lakṣmī is *ahetu-mīmāṃsyā*); *acintya*, PauS 10.6, 19.39, AS 2.34-5, 41.22. Cf. PauS 32.41, NS 9.209.

37. E.g., *avācya*, JS 5.23; *vāg-atīta*, JS 5.29; *anirdeśya*, PauS 19.46, AS 4.69, LT 8.4, 10.12; *anāma-rūpa-sambhedyam avāṅ-manasa-gocaram*, AS 2.6. Also see AS 2.20, 26 & 42, 51.78; cf. VP 6.5.72, *aśabda-gocara*, and 6.7.53, *agocaraṃ vacasām*.
38. See Deussen, *Philosophy of Ups*, pp. 147ff.
39. JS 4.69-70 & 73ff., *sarva-rasa-gandhānvita*, etc. Cf. ChUp 3.14.
40. I.e., *su-saṃpūrṇa*, SS 19.119; *pūrṇa*, AS 2.25; cf. MBh 5.68.10, and SS 6.212 (*anākula*). Also cf. a derivation of the name *puruṣa*: *pūrṇatvāt puruṣo nityaṃ prṇāteḥ pūrṇārthakāt* / (AS 59.10). Here the Puruṣa is identified with God. Also see BAUp 5.1.1:

    pūrṇam adaḥ, pūrṇam idam, pūrṇāt pūrṇam udacyate /
    pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam evāvaśiṣyate //

41. E.g., *sarva*, PauS 19.45, JS 4.69, LT 15.8. Cf. BhG 7.19, 11.40 (*sarvaṃ samāpnoṣi, tato 'si sarvaḥ* //), ChUp 3.14.1, MBh 5.69.11; and see Gonda, "sarva-". Also cf. *samasta*, AS 2.7.
42. E.g., *vyāpya lokān sthitaṃ prabhum*, SS 17.78; *viśva-vyāpin*, SS 23.48; *sarva-vyāpin*, SS 23.57; *vyāpin*, SS 19.119, AS 2.25, NS 2.41, 9.26. *sarva-vyāpaka*, JS 4.2 & 63-4, 6.221, 14.57, AS 2.23, NS 9.208, LT 2.9, 10.11, 15.8, 18.19, 23.1, &c.; *sarvatra-ga*, SS 25.121; *sarvaga* (*ta*), SS 6.15, 7.116, 17.455, PauS 30.100, 43.113, JS 4.62 & 77, NS 2.69 & 72, 9.26, VS 3.68 & 89, cf. ŚvetUp 3.11 & 21, 6.17, MuUp 1.1.6, 3.2.5. According to the *SM* (26.1), *sarva-gatatva* means *sarva-mūrta-dravya-saṃyogitva*.
43. Cf. e.g., *brahma eva lokaḥ*, BAUp 1.4.10, 4.3.33, 4.4.5, ChUp 3.14, 6.13.3, 7.25.2, MuUp 2.2.11, AituP 5.3, KaUp 5.2, &c. Also see VP 1.22.55, 6.7.55-67, LT 8.5-7. For Rāmānuja's *kārya-sthaṃ brahma*, see VAS 42, SDS 4.175-8 & 182, Y p. 82.23-5. Cf. Edgerton, *BhG*, p. 147.
44. See AS 33.20-1, PS 2.106-10, 3.8 & 65-7.
45. See BhG 7.20-3, 9.23 & 29, BhP 10.40.9-10, Vṛddhahārīta-smṛti 8.85-6.
46. E.g., ĪśaUp 4-14 *passim*, TUp 2.6, KaUp 2.21, BhG 13.14-6, KumS 2.9-11 & 14-5. See Gail, *Bhakti*, pp. 32-4. For the two forms of Brahman, see Hume, Intro. to *Thirteen Ups*, pp. 34-6.
47. Cf. BhG 13.12, ŚvetUp 4.18, MuUp 2.2.1, GP 1.2.20. See Deussen, *Philosophy of Ups*, pp. 128ff.
48. See JS 1.61, 5.29, AS 15.10, LT 2.1; Śaṅkara's Intro. to ChUp 8.1.1 (*paramārtha-sat*), SDS 4.369-72 & 381-2, 5.278 (*sad-*

āgamaika-vijñeya). Cf. KaUp 6.12, KenaUp 3, MuUp 3.1.8. Further, cf. *satyasya satyam*, BAUp 2.1.20, 2.3.6; *sat* or *satyam*, ChUp 6, cf. BAUp 5.4; *satyam*, BAUp 2.3.1, TUp 2.6, VP 1.6.3, 1.7.1.
49. Cf. VP 1.22.44, 4.2.52, 6.7.75.
50. Also see PauS 1.48, AS 6.28, LT 2.3, VP 1.22.44 & 53. Cf. SDS 4.37 & 381, *parama-puruṣārtha-bhūtam*.
51. BAUp 3.1.3, PauS 30.138, JS 5.12-34 & 73, AS 57.76, LT 5.85, VP 1.17.59, 6.5.58.
52. PauS 19.45, 20.76, 27.372, JS 4.2, 60 & 105, 5.30, 6.19, 210 & 222, AS 21.6, 41.15, LT 5.85, 7.2, 8.7, 9.1, 10.20, &c. *āhlādānanda*-lakṣaṇam, SS 20.13; cid-*ānanda-ghana*, SS 6.212; *nityānanda*, SS 19.120. Cf. Deussen, *Philosophy of Ups*, pp. 140 ff.
53. "Even in this world." See BAUp 4.4.14, KenaUp 2.5, ŚvetUp 3.10.
54. Cf. Deussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 132ff.
55. E.g., *cic-chakti-vigraham brahma*, SS 20.13; *cin-maya*, SS 17.455; *cid-rūpa*, PauS 19.42, JS 3.14; *-svarūpa*, PauS 27.370, JS 2.17; *-ghana*, SS 6.212, LT 2.10, 8.7, 13.24, 14.45, 16.14, cf. PS 2.106 (*vijñāna-ghana-rūpa*); *-sāmānya*, JS 4.2.
    jñānam eva, JS 4.68 & 97, AS 2.56-7 & 62, LT 2.24-7; *jñāna-mūrti*, SS 25.294; *-rūpa*, LT *ibid.*; *-vigraha*, VS 11.25.
    samasta-saṃvit-pūrṇa, SS 17.123; *śuddha-saṃvin-maya*, SS 5.82; *saṃvit*, JS 6.210 & 225; *-svarūpa*, SS 2.69; *-maya*, PauS 22.70, 27.239, JS 1.77; *sva-vedana*, JS 5.29 & 23, LT 22.5; *ātma-vedana*, NS 9.200; *sva-saṃvedya*, JS 4.61 & 91; *saṃbuddha*, PauS 19.43. Viṣṇu is thus *jñāna-svarūpa* (VP 1.2.6, 1.4.21, 39 & 41, 1.22.50, 2.6.46). Lakṣmī's *rūpa* is said to be *jñāna-ghana* (LT 4.7). She also is *svacchandā saṃvit* (LT 7.29, 14.5, VP 1.12.69), *śuddha-saṃvinmayī* (LT 3.8 & 28, 11.37, 14.39), and *svasaṃvedana-saṃvedyā* (LT 14.39). Cf. *ātma-saṃvedya*, VP 1.22.41, 6.7.53.
56. For further details, see *infra* Section 2 and Note VI.44 of my Translation. Cf. *ātmā para-jñānamayaḥ*, VP 2.14.30, 6.7.22.
57. E.g., *sarva-jña*, SS 25.122, PauS 30.100, 31.149, 43.113, JS 4.69 & 100, VS 2.18; *sarva-vettṛ*, JS 4.100. Cf. MuUp 1.1.9, 2.2.7, SDS 4.306-7 & 367.
58. Cf. *jīvasya brahmātmakatvam* (VAS 17, p. 80.14 through p. 81.1).
59. JS 16.273, AS 6.33-4, 7.70, 10.19, LT 7.11-2, 16.19.

60. I.e., *sarvajña*, AS 6.35. Also see PauS 27.49-50, PS 2.88-90, KaUp 5.12, BhG 15.7: *mamaivāṃśo jīva-loke jīva-bhūtaḥ sanātanaḥ /*.
61. PauS 20.5, AS 6.35-8, LT 3.16 & 33; cf. VP 6.7.61-3, VAS 4.
62. See Note 1.13 of my Translation. Hence Viṣṇu is *vidyāvidyālaya* (VP 1.20.11, cf. 1.22.73 & 77).
63. See Note 6.42 of my Translation.
64. LT 3.17, SarvaUp1, VP 6.7.11: *anātmany ātma-buddhiḥ*.
65. PauS 20.4, JS 3.17, 4.10 & 51, etc.
66. AS 14.27ff., PS 2.59 = VS 4.39; cf. VP 6.7.61-2, SDS 4.305: *avidyā karma-saṃghāta-rūpā*.
67. AS 14.13ff., PS 1.82, 30.23-6 & 90ff., VS 3.83. Cf. KaUp 2.5, VP 6.7.62, BhP 10.2.39.
68. E.g., *bandha-hetuś ca nādimān*, AS 14.28, LT 3.16 & 33; *anādy-ajñāna*, PauS 43.121; *anādi-vāsanā*, JS 3.17, 4.10 & 51, AS 6.34.
69. Cf. SDS 4.303ff. In this connection, the example which Śaṅkara mentions as held by a *sampradāya-vit*, is interesting: a prince who has been brought up by a hunter finally discovers that he was born in a royal lineage (Śaṅkara on BAUp 2.1.20, p. 297).
70. LT 3.17-9, SDS 4.51-2.
71. JS 4.38-9, AS 13.9ff., PS 1.63-7, 12.59, LT 15.12, NS 3.65, VS 29.34.
72. Hence *avidyā* is often compared to darkness (*tamas* or *mahātāmisra*, AS 14.27; cf. BAUp 4.4.10, ĪśaUp 9, VP 1.5.5, 6.5.62), whereas *jñāna* to light or lamp (*pradīpa*) to dispel it (VP 6.5.62, DK p. 56.3). In VP 6.7.19-20, *jñāna* is illustrated by waters to wash away the dust of *vāsanā* in *saṃsāra*.
73. JS 5.2.3, AS 31.15, 45.4-5, PS 10.2, PdS 1.9 (*jñānaṃ yogaś ca yad idaṃ kevalaṃ mukti-kāraṇam //*). Cf. DK p. 71.1.
74. AS 14.36ff., PS 1.84, 12.67, VS 3.28 & 38, 29.35. Cf. Śrīdhara on BhP 1.5.23-31.
75. Further see e.g., *anubhūta*, JS 5.26; *anubhava*, AS 2.22, LT 2.1; *jñāna-dṛśya*, MBh 12.326.23; *-jñeya*, PauS 19.45; *-gamya*, JS 1.61, 4.51, AS 31.7, cf. VP 1.15.37; *dhyānena*, JS 4.68, LT 14.18.
76. AS 5.22 & 36-7, 52.79, 55.19, LT 4.9, 6.9.
77. Then followed by Rāmānuja. See VAS 92 (p. 128.8), 135 (p. 166.10), SDS 4.280-1 & 312. Cf. Lacombe, *L'Absolu*, pp. 277ff.; Mohanty, *Concept of Puruṣa and Puruṣottama in the Commentary of Śaṅkara on the Prasthānatrayī*, Delhi, 1986.
78. Cf. AS 44.44, VS 3.30. See Gonda, *VŚ*, p. 148, note 127, and GP 1.15.2-148. MBh 12.325.4 gives a list of 170 names.

79. The earlier Saṃhitās use, for instance, the following names: Adhokṣaja, PauS 27.243, 31.25, 59 & 196, JS 1.28 & 70, 4.112; Govinda, JS 2.17, AS 52.73, PS 6.49; Hṛṣīkeśa, AS 44.32, 53.37-50, PS 29.21; Janārdana, PauS 30.124, 41.72, JS 2.16, 21.71, AS 10.41, 16.8; Keśava, JS 2.17, AS 33.81, 36.57; Mādhava, PS 18.19; Madhusūdana, AS 15.0, 36.58, 41.26, 56.30-1, PS 31.69. These names, except Adhokṣaja and Janārdana, are included among the Sub-Vyūhas. See Note 5.41 of my Translation.
80. Also see BhG 9.17, 11.43, VP 1.9.124. Another example is *bhartṛ, prabhu*, and *suhṛt*, BhG 9.18; *sakhi*, BhG 11.41. Cf. BhP 1.11.7.
81. Also see H 1.49.26.
82. Cf. Varma, "Rituals"; Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 77-81; G. Bühnemann, *Pūjā: A study in Smārta Ritual*, Vienna, 1988. For the details and other references, see my article on worship of the Supreme in Vaiṣṇavism (in Japanese) in *Kōza Tōyō-shisō*, Vol. 1, pp. 313-32.
83. ĪS 8.61 & 213 give other kinds, eight, thirty-two and sixty-four.
84. PauS 26.7-10, 30.106, AS 28.20 & 85, PS 28.6. Cf. KumS 7.88, Vikram 3.8.6 (p. 54), 7.6.11-2 (p. 79), 7.7.1 (p. 80), 16.2.15 (p. 133), 21.4.8-10 & 23 (p. 160), BhP 11.27.25; Gonda, *VŚ*, p. 186, note 196.
85. For *āvāhana-vidhi*, see PauS 6.194-240, ŚPS 28.181-92. Cf. PS 6.45.
86. Further, see PauS 30.165, AS 28.36-84, PS 4.38-56, 13.23, LT chapters 39-40.
87. PS 18.16. For the icons, see JS 20, AS 24, PS 23. They are classified in Smith's *Iconography*.
88. AS 48.19-28, PS 10.53. Cf. BhG 9.29, 15.15, 18.61.
89. Cf. *atithi-pūjana*, VP 3.11;56-61, Manu 3.99ff., PS 17.41, Viṣṇu-smṛti 67.31-46.
90. For its constituent materials, see JS 13.65-6, AS 28.33-4, PS 29.70-1; cf. VP 3.15.19, KumS 1.58, 6.50, 7.72 (Mallinātha: *pūjārthodaka*). It seems to be a specific offering for a guest (H 2.53.12, 14, 16 & 20, 55.29, 43 & 72, 119.59).
91. BhG 4.11, 7.21ff., 9.29-33, 18.46.
92. Not extended to the outcastes, at least in the earlier Saṃhitās; see PS 5.15, 9.25, SanatkS Brahma 5.2-3. Also cf. Smith's note 19 on PdS Kriyā-pāda 1.16 (p. 6).

93. PauS 27.132 & 134, 30.173-4 & 186-90, 32.122ff., JS 16.82ff., AS 15.9-10, PS 3.29-30, 29.74-5, VS 4.48, 10.4 & 63-4, 11.48, LT 21.39, PMS 1.88-9, AnirS 3.17, PdS 1.16, etc. Cf. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 251.
94. E.g., *amūrto mūrtatāṃ gataḥ*, SS 2.70, cf. 72; *arcāntar-gato devaḥ*, SS 25.247, cf. 25.148-53; *vyaktākṛti-dhara*, PauS 26.40; *sākāra*, JS 13.58, *savigraha*, JS 11.39; *dehavat*, PS 3.83, LT 36.95.
95. AS 44.31, PS 23.51, 24.27, 29.26.
96. PauS 20.22, JS 33.53, VS 18.58.
97. MBh 12.330.57-8. Cf. PauS 26.9 & 11.
98. PS 4.74 (cf. VS 4.61). For *viṣṇu-kathā*, see MBh 12.331.4-8, 335.6, PS 27.27, VS 17.114, 22.28, H 1.54.79, 3.102.13-5, 103.2-3, 116.9, 132.95-6, BhP 10.1.13-6; *vaiṣṇavī kathā*, PS 8.40, 25.45. Cf. RV 1.156.2.
99. For the comparison to *sphaṭika* in this respect, see JS 4.109, 6.218, 10.86, 12.100, 13.165-7, 14.65 & 76, 15.206, PS 2.87-90, 3.16, 4.38, VS 4.11 & 54, 6.65 & 68, PMS 10.175-6.
100. See e.g., PS 3.5 & 9, 24.20, LT 38.2 & 28.
101. E.g., MBh 12.326.119, PauS 30.218, JS 1.17, PS 2.87, 3.82.
102. Also cf. AS 5.2-3 with 32-3, and see JS 1.21-4, 4.119b & 122d.
103. So is Nārāyaṇa in VP 1.4.4-5.
104. Also cf. MNUp 396, *brahma sarūpam*; Viṣṇu-smṛti 98.29, *brahma-rūpam*.
105. *Sarva-śakti*, SS 17.409; cf. *bhagavac-chakti*, PauS 22.10, JS 5.5, 6.59 & 84, AS 6.35-6, 51.16; or *viṣṇu-śakti*, PauS 22.7 & 64, AS 3.11, 57.20-1.
106. AS 4.77, 8.54, 14.21, 18.8, 51.47 & 49, 56.4, 57.3, 58.14, 25, 54 & 56.
107. Kṛṣṇa is addressed Viṣṇu in BhG 11.24 & 30.
108. On *Brahma-s* 2.1.14 (end): *evam avidyā-kṛta-nāmarūpōpādhi-anurodhīśvaro bhavati* (p. 382.8), and *tad evam avidyātmakopādhi-paricchedāpekṣam evēśvarasyēśvaratvam* (p. 382.10). Also cf. Śaṅkara's difficulty in interpreting BhG 14.27.
109. Also cf. Sāyaṇa on RV 1.90.5, 5.3.3, 8.7.27, etc.
110. Cf. Gonda, *Aspects*, pp. 55 & 65 (N on MBh 12.341. 24ff.).
111. Further cf. VāyuP 66.136, KP 1.50.30. For other references, see Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
112. For the etymology of Viṣṇu, see M. Bloomfield, "On the group of Vedic words ending in *-gva* and *-gvin*", *Proceedings of*

American Oriental Society, 29-31, 1894, pp. 123-4; H. Oldenberg, "Zur Religion und Mythologie des Veda", *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1915, p. 374; -do, *Religion des Veda*, p. 229, note 1 end; Neisser, *JAOS*, 45, 1925, p. 288; Keith, *HOS*, 31, p. 109 & note 3; K. F. Johansson, *Solageln i Indien*, Uppsala, 1910 (see J. Charpentier's review in *WZKM*, 25, p. 428); R. N. Dandekar, "Viṣṇu in the Veda", *A Volume of Studies in Indology*, pp. 106-7; Renou, *L'Inde classique*, I, p. 323; J. Przyluski, "Le nom du dieu Viṣṇu et la Légende de Kṛṣṇa", *Archiv Orientální*, 4, 1932, pp. 261ff.; Otto, "The God of the Gita", p. 21ff.; Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 4, note 11 (summary), pp. 53-5 & 65; Mayrhofer, *KEW*, *sv.* Viṣṇu, Bd 3, pp. 231-2.
113. Cf. BhG 7.12-3, 9.4-6, 10.16, 15.16-7, and also 4. 35, 7.7, 8.22, 10.30, 11.7. For the *anupraveśa* theory of the Upaniṣads, see Deussen, *Philosophy of Ups*, pp. 171-2, 182-6, 195ff., 406-7. This word appears in AS 55.52 (cf. 2.27, 54.27, 59.37, VAS 81).
114. I.e., *máh*, RV 1.156.3, 5.87.1 & 8; *mahát*, 1.156.2.
115. This power is probably the most essential factor that contributed to make the Avatāra theory exclusively Viṣṇu's in the post-Vedic times.
116. RV 1.22.17, 1.154.3, 1.154.1 & 6, 6.49.13, 7.100.3 & 4, and also AV 12.1.10. But cf. RV 8.29.7.
117. Cf. BhG 8.8, 10 & 22, 10.12, 11.18 & 35, 15.4, 18.46, Viṣṇu-smṛti 97.16, 98.83.
118. SS 17.425. Cf. BhG 8.4, *adhiyajño 'ham eva*. Also see Gonda, *Aspects*, pp. 77ff.
119. A good example is RV 8.29.7. Cf. RV 1.22.16-8, 154.1, 4.18.11, 7.100.3-4, 8.12.27, 52.3, 100.12; *uru-kram-*, 1.155.4; *nir-kram-*, 5.87.4.
120. E.g., cf. MBh 12.321.7, AS 3.41, MNUp 237.
121. E.g., AS 15.26ff., 32.60, SanatkS Brahma 5, pp. 11-26, VS 11.79, 16.5, 29.10 & 68. Cf. MBh 6.63.15, VP 1.6.3-6, 1.12.63-4, H 3.88.36-7, 111.65, AS 4.59-60, 6.9-11, 10.47, 15.3-5, 20 & 27, VS 17.41.
122. Cf. VS Ch.3, MBh 12.325.4 (No. 113), JS 2.14, PMS 24.87.
123. Also *asīmaka*, AS 44.33; or *ananta-rūpa*, BhG 11.16.
124. Also *acākṣuṣa*, AS 44.33; or *durnirīkṣya*, BhG 11.17. Cf. MNUp 21.
125. Hazra, *UpaP*, Vol. 1, p. 133, note 58.

paramātmātmanāh (VP 1.4.14). The *paramātman* is also applicable to Viṣṇu (VP 6.4.37-40, LT 7.10, 11.48) and Nārāyaṇa (AS 6.1, 51.5, LT 13.18). Also cf. LT 2.5-6, 11.1, and *Viṣṇudharma* 96 (Hazra, *op.cit.*, note 134): *bhedaśca karma-janitaḥ kṣetrajña-paramātmanoḥ /*. Vāsudeva is called as "the *para tattva*" in NS 1.4.

127. E.g., BhG 13.2 & 33, MBh 12.336.54, 339.5-6, H 1.8.30.
128. E.g., BhG 9.22-34, 10.9-11, 12.13-20.
129. E.g., JS 33.80, AS 59.70.
130. Further, cf. *abhaktāya na*, BhG 18.67, PauS 6.84, 18.56-7, 33.128, JS 33.80-7, AS 59.75, 60.20-6, VS 30.83-4.
131. They increase in the later texts; e.g., LT 14.1, 15.9, 32.29 & 33, PMS 1.33. The identification is already in the *BhG* (e.g., 10.12) and developed in the *VP* (e.g., 1.2.13, 3.3.27-8, 6.4.4, 6.5.76).
132. Followed by Rāmānuja; cf. VAS 113 (p. 144.4), 124 (p. 152.13), ŚBh on 2.2.41 (p. 696-7), SDS 4.238-9 & 251-2. Also see AmṛtabinduUp 22.
133. See JS 2.32-3 (cf. BhG 8.17-9), AS 3.6, 4.70-1 & 78, 8.38. This idea may be related to the deep-sleep theory of the Ups. For that theory, cf. Deussen, *Philosophy of Ups*, pp. 296ff; Heimann, *Eigenart Indischen Denkens*, pp. 130-45.
134. PauS 19.3, 30.99, cf. 27.122, JS 1.61, 4.118, cf. 1.21-3 & 14.57, AS 2.22, 3.41, 4.77, 5.2, 13.18, 51.65, H 31.59, BhP 11.27.42, VAS 81 end, 139 (p. 168.10), 140 (p. 169.3). Cf. MNUp 242: *nārāyaṇaḥ paraṃ brahma-tattvam.*
135. LT 2.16, 8.5, 7 & 9, 10.6, 11.2, 13.14, 15.9 & 11, 16.23-4, 17.3 & 6, 18.19, 21.28, 22.4-8 & 34, 23.1, etc.
136. MBh 3.187.3, 12.328.35, H Cr. Ed. 1.23-4, vul. 3.88.44, MārkP 4.43, 47.5, VāyuP 5.38, VāmanaP 43.30, BrahmaP 56.12, 60.55, BrahmāṇḍaP 1.5.135, 1.6.57, AP 17.7-8, LiṅgaP 1.70.119-20, BhP 2.10.10-1; cf. Kirfel, *Pañcalakṣaṇa*, pp. 3.11, 15.1.5, 57.31, 59.5, 76.65.
137. Also cf. VP 1.3.24, 1.4.2. For some similarity to the Sumerian god Ea or Enki, see Kosambi, *Introduction to Indian History*, p. 111; -do, *JESHO*, 4, p. 210.
138. Vikram 8.3.4-5 (p. 84), cf. 8.3.21 & 8.6.1 (p. 85).
139. Vikram 8.6.2 (p. 85).
140. *Religions of Ancient India*, p. 64. Also see Kenny, *ABORI*, 23, pp. 250-6.
142. Apply Pāṇini 4.3.120 (AṆ), 7.2.117 and 6.4.148 to the word *nara*.
143. The editor's emendation is *pa(tir na)raḥ*.
144. Also cf. GP 1.32.30: *namo nārāyaṇāyaiva narāṇāṃ pataye namaḥ //*.
145. *Intro.*, p. 27, and B. Bhattacharyya, Foreword to the *JS* edition, p. 16.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ORIGIN OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRA DOCTRINE

1. *Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa and the Vyūha Theory*

Nārāyaṇa first appears in *ŚatapathaBr* in 12.3.4.1 (cf. GopBr 1.5.11) as a student of Prajāpati, and then in 13.6.1.1 where he is said to have performed Puruṣamedha, a five days' sacrifice. In both of these places he is given the name Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa, and particularly in the latter passage, 13.6.1.1-3, it is almost doubtless that he is identified with the cosmic Puruṣa[1] of *Ṛgveda* 10.90. In the *MahānārāyaṇaUp* (235-60: TA 10.11), his status is fully raised to the ultimate reality endowed with personal characteristics.[2] Later, from the time of the Nārāyaṇīya, he is regarded as the Supreme God of the Pāñcarātrikas.[3] Thus in the *Jayākhya* (4.125-30), the Puruṣa hymn of the *Ṛgveda* is paraphrased in order to describe the cosmic form of their God.[4] This old identification of the Puruṣa

with Nārāyaṇa seems to play an important part in the Pāñcarātra system. For there is a strong likelihood that the theologians utilized the Puruṣa-sūkta, especially verses RV 10.90.3-4, to establish their Vyūha theory,[5] which is one of the most essential and unique doctrines in the Pāñcatrātra system.

According to the *Ahirbudhnya*, the hymn of RV 10.90 describes the Puruṣa's self-sacrifice that causes the origination of this whole world:

samasta-jagad-utpatti-hetuḥ svargāpavarga-daḥ /
pauruṣo mānuṣo yajñaḥ sūkte 'smin pratipādyate //
(AS 59.5)

From this sacrificial point of view, the construction and central theme of that hymn would be analyzed as follows. The first five stanzas describe the greatness of the Puruṣa. He consists of four quarters, only one of which evolves to become this entire universe:

idáṃ sárvaṃ yád bhūtáṃ yác ca bhávyam (RV 10.90.2)
pádo 'sya víśva bhūtáni (3)
pádo 'syehábhavat (4)

The other three quarters are immortal, high up in heaven above:

tri-pád asyāmṛtáṃ diví//
tri-pád ūrdhvám údait púruṣaḥ
(3-4, cf. also 1cd and 5cd)

The remaining eleven stanzas describe how the Puruṣa, or probably one fourth of him, became manifest as this whole universe (cf. *táthā lokáṁ akalpayan*, 14), when the gods performed the sacrifice with him as the oblation or victim (6-7 & 15-6). This sacrifice, which is the indispensable means for the Puruṣa to attain both transcendence and immanence, is traditionally known as the Puruṣamedha or, quite interestingly, called "*pañcarātra yajña-kratu*"[6] in *ŚatBr* 13.6.1.1. In the *Ṛgveda* the gods are said to have performed this sacrifice, but in the *ŚatapathaBr* the agent is already replaced by Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa himself. Here the idea of self-immolation[7] is first expressed, which seems to have promoted the Pāñcarātrikas' establishing the Vyūha theory.

This theory, often referred to as the most salient and unique part of the Pāñcarātra cosmogony,[8] concerns the four forms of God, known as Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, involved in the opening stage of the creation of this world:

ādyaṃ bhagavad-rūpam (AS 10.14)
mūrti-catuṣṭayam (MBh 12.326.43)
mūrti-catuṣka (SS 4.7) *catur-mūrti* (SS 5.19)

The first mention of the Vyūhas in our texts has been found in a brief cosmological account of the Nārāyaṇīya, which runs as follows:[9]

"I who have become manifest here [on earth] still remain eternally in heaven. Later, when the 1,000 *yuga*s have come to an end,[10] I shall draw the world back again, dissolving all creatures, both movable and immovable, into myself. (66) All alone I shall take delight with [my Śakti][11] Vidyā, O best of the twice-born. Then again, I shall create the whole world here by means of Vidyā. (67)

"[At the beginning of this creation] our fourth form proceated Śeṣa, the changeless, who has been knwon as Saṅkarṣaṇa.[12] This one in turn gave birth to Pradyumna. (68) After Pradyumna, I became Aniruddha. This evolution of mine takes place again and again. In the same way, Brahmā is born from Aniruddha, in the primordial lotus [that grows] from him.[13] (69) From this Brahmā all creatures, both movable and immovable, [come into existence]. Know that this evolution is repeated again

and again at the beginning of every world cycle. (70)"

Although the term Vyūha itself is still absent in the above passage (but see MBh 12.336.53), the notion which underlies it finds expression in the phrase "asman-*mūrtiś caturthī* yā (68)"; cf. e.g., MBh 12.321.8, nārāyaṇo hi viśvātmā *catur-mūrtiḥ* sanātanaḥ /. The fourth form in this case obviously refers to the first Vyūha Vāsudeva according to the description of MBh 12. 326.25-43. Since these words are spoken by Nārāyaṇa to Nārada,[14] *asmat* means Nārāyaṇa himself. In this way in the earliest stage of creation the Vyūhas are regarded as the four forms of Nārāyaṇa, who possesses His Śakti Vidyā.[11] This view is further corroborated by two of the later Saṃhitās. According to the *Sanatkumāra* the Vyūhas are the *catasro mūrtayaḥ nārāyaṇāṃśa-jāḥ* (Indra 6. 1ff.), and in *ViṣṇuS* 3.2-5 they are the *catasro mūrtayaḥ* of the *eka eva paraḥ pumān* (also cf. AS 4.59-77). The Vyūhas are thus regarded in our earliest cosmogonic account as the four forms of Nārāyaṇa, who is identified with the Puruṣa of RV 10.90 from the time of the *ŚatapathaBr.*

It should now become certain that the particular number of the Vyūhas as four must have been taken over from that of the Ṛgvedic Puruṣa's quarters, which constitute his whole cosmological existence. Otherwise, the adoption of that number cannot be explained in a satisfactory way. For instance, in the early history of the Bhāgavata movement of which the Purāṇas preserve the tradition that Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa (also called Baladeva, Balarāma, or simply Rāma), Pradyumna, and Aniruddha were prominent heroes, there is no evidence whatsoever that clearly shows their being grouped together for any same purposes. In the present text of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the last three names are totally absent.

Only the association of Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa can be traced to a time before the Christian era. Patañjali, the great grammarian who is supposed to have flourished around 150 B.C., mentions *saṅkarṣaṇa-dvitīyasya kṛṣṇasya balam* under Pāṇini 2.2.24 and *rāma-keśavau* under 2.2.34(.1). He also gives (ad Pāṇini 4.1.114) Vāsudeva and Bāladeva as examples of names current among the Vṛṣṇis. But, on the other hand, he informs us of nothing about the other two heroes. The association of Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa is also recorded in the early Bhāgavata inscription of Ghosundi and Nanaghat of the first century B.C., and is known even to the early Jainas.[15] But in these cases again, no information about the other two is available. Consequently, since occasional references to and archaeological remnants of their individual worship have been reported in relatively early times, those four heroes were probably grouped together only at a later stage in the development of the Bhāgavata cult.

Many scholars, however, have been tempted to see the grouping of the four and hence the origin of the Vyūha theory before the time of Patañjali, on the ground of the following passage found in the *Mahābhāṣya* :

janārdanas tu *ātma-caturtha* eva / bahuvrīhir ayam /
ātmā caturtho 'syeti //[16] (under Pāṇini 6.3.5)

This sort of assumption involves difficulties both internally and externally. In the *Mahābhāṣya*, the name Janārdana is found only in this place and moreover, Patañjali nowhere mentions the other members of the four, but for the close connection of Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa as given above. Externally, there has been discovered to date no evidence for the grouping of the four before the time of the Nārāyaṇīya. Without any supporting data on this point, the sentence quoted above

is so solitary a reference that Patañjali, if he indeed belonged to the second century B.C., could not have written that passage himself.[17] Furthermore, at the beginning of the Christian era, not four but five heroes, namely, the above four with the addition of Sāmba, were grouped together among the Vṛṣṇis and equally addressed as *bhagavat*. This has been ascertained from an inscription found at Morā, a village near Mathurā, and from such Purāṇic accounts as *VāyuP* 97.1-2.[18] Viewed in this light, all available evidence would seem to point to a late origin of the four heroes as the Vyūhas.

Since these early records are altogether silent about the particular number four, it is reasonable to infer that the Vyūha theory had originated probably among an unknown religious mass in ancient India from the idea of the four quarters of the cosmic Puruṣa of the *Ṛgveda*. In the Pāñcarātrikas' Vyūha theory, the actual evolution of this world begins with the 4th Vyūha Aniruddha, who is the *loka-sarga-kara* (MBh 12.327.63),[19] and the other three Vyūhas remain behind as being the higher stages. It is only by accepting the above reasoning that we can best understand the structure of the four Vyūha theory.

As one may notice, two marked discrepancies are involved in such a formative process of the Vyūha theory. One is the sacrifice of the cosmic Puruṣa to occasion the creation of the world. This concept is missing in the Vyūha theory. The other is the successive order among the Vyūhas, not mentioned in relation to the quarters of the Puruṣa. These discrepancies can properly be explained by the early Pāñcarātrikas' personification and deification of those quarters of Puruṣa as the individual Vyūha gods.[20] In other words, in this process of personification the theologians must have interpreted the idea of

Nārāyaṇa's self-immolation in five successive days implied in the *ŚatapathaBr* as that of His self-transformation. This is an interpretation made possible by the characteristic of the Vedic Viṣṇu,[21] whose transformational power is well lauded even from the time of the *Ṛgveda* as in the case of Trivikrama and promotes to embrace many Avatāras within the God's existence. In addition, Viṣṇu is identical with the sacrifice (*yajña*) itself already in the Brāhmaṇa texts (e.g., *yajño vai viṣṇuḥ*, TA 1.7.4).

The ancient sacrifice of the Puruṣa is only then turned into the cosmic process through which God manifests a portion of Himself as the entire universe. This is a feasible way that the early Pāñcarātrikas could conceive of God's appearing as the Vyūhas in successive stages[22] of creation. The extant Saṃhitās never make an ultimate distinction between the four Vyūhas,[23] as they are the manifestations of one and the same Supreme God only in successive order. The above analysis, it would seem, offers a satisfactory explanation as to how the Pāñcarātrikas interpreted the Puruṣa hymn of the *Ṛgveda* so that it could be integrated into their monotheistic system centering on a personal God.[24] We shall later examine the identification of Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu with Vāsudeva that is clearly presupposed by the Vyūha theory as such.

From all these considerations, we may venture to introduce a hypothesis with regard to the origin of the name of our sect. There is a possibility that the name Pañcarātra was a simple borrowing from the *pañcarātra yajña-kratu* of Nārāyaṇa mentioned in *ŚatapathaBr* 13.6.1.1, by theologians who established the Vyūha theory by way of their interpretation of the Puruṣa hymn, *RV* 10.90. First of all, we must recall that *pañcarātra* was a name of the important sacrifice that enabled Puruṣa-

Nārāyaṇa to attain both transcendence and immanence at the same time,[6] or that caused the origination of this whole universe (AS 59.5). In both cases the sacrifice is closely connected with cosmogony, and the Vyūha theory is the principal and unique part of the cosmogony of the Pāñcarātra. Furthermore, the idea of God's assuming the four Vyūha forms was probably formulated on the analogy of the Puruṣa as the integrate whole and his four quarters as its constituent parts. Both points here remarked conjointly give a reasonable explanation of what is referred to by the word *pañca* in the compound name. For this grouping of the five, made up of God and his four Vyūhas, is the simplest and possibly the only way to account for the word *pañca*.[25]

The same kind of grouping is evidenced in the two earliest Saṃhitās. The *Pauṣkara* 27.671 (also cf. 33.5-6) testifies to the juxtaposition of *paramātman* and *cāturātmya*, which latter term is commonly used for the four Vyūhas in the Saṃhitā literature.[26] The *Jayākhya*, throughout which Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa are regarded as identical, frequently mentions the *ādideva Viṣṇu* (or Satya) together with the Vyūhas.[27] In this connection, one may also compare *PādmaS* 3.10.100-2 where is prescribed the installation of images of five gods including the Vyūhas, and the first five members of the *navātma-mūrtis*, that is, the Vyūhas and Nārāyaṇa, in the *Pauṣkara* (e.g., 10. 3-4 & 15-21).

More explicitly demonstrative is the description of the *pañca-tattva* given in the *GaruḍaP*. According to this passage, the Vyūhas and Nārāyaṇa were considered as the fivefold form of the Supreme God:

*pañcatattvā*rcanaṃ vakṣye tava śaṅkara suvrata! /...//
eka evāvyayaḥ śāntaḥ paramātmā sanātanaḥ /

vāsudevo dhruvaḥ śuddhaḥ sarva-vyāpī nirañjanaḥ //
sa eva māyayā deva! *pañcadhā saṃsthito hariḥ* /
lokānugraha-kṛd viṣṇuḥ sarva-duṣṭa-vināśanaḥ //
vāsudeva-svarūpeṇa tathā saṅkarṣaṇena ca /
tathā pradyumna-rūpeṇāniruddhākhyena ca sthitaḥ /
nārāyaṇa-svarūpeṇa pañcadhā ca hy ayaṃ sthitaḥ //
(GP 1.32.2-5)

At first sight, it may seem strange that Nārāyaṇa here is excluded from the description of the Supreme and joined together with the Vyūhas. For in other places He is the very God: e.g., in GP 1.1.12,

eko nārāyaṇo devo devānām īśvareśvaraḥ /
paramātmā paraṃ brahma janmādy asya yato bhavet //

However, as its name indicates, this Purāṇa is a popular Viṣṇuite text and seems to esteem highly the orthodox Bhāgavata tradition, of which the *Bhagavad-gītā* is considered the oldest and most important treatise. The stance of this Purāṇa may be represented by its chapter 229, whose opening line reads as follows:

gītā-sāraṃ pravakṣyāmi arjunāyoditaṃ purā /
(cf. NāradaP 1.108.20)

As we shall see presently, Nārāyaṇa had probably belonged to a different tradition from the earlier stage of the Bhāgavata and hence the name was still absent in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Consequently, it is evident from the above excerpt that the old classification of the Vaiṣṇava gods into the group of five was handed down to posterity after Nārāyaṇa was introduced into the Bhāgavata movement and the Vyūha theory was established.

The connotation of the first member *pañca* being thus clarified, it is a proper and logical conclusion that the early Pāñcarātrikas' specific doctrine of cosmogony, in

which God assumes the four Vyūha forms at the beginning, should originally have been named 'Pañcarātra' after the sacrifice of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa. It is probably only in this connection that the concluding remark of the cosmogony given in the Nārāyaṇīya can be properly understood:

idaṃ mahopaniṣadaṃ caturveda-samanvitam /
sāṃkhya-yoga-kṛtaṃ, tena pañcarātrānuśabditam //
(MBh 12.326.100)

Likewise, according to PauS 38.28-9:

dvijendraḥ pāñcarātrikaḥ //
vettā yo vyūha-pūrvasya avyaktasya paramātmanaḥ /

Our conclusion is further supported by the earlier usage of the word *pañcarātra*, which, as we have already examined, has exclusively the sense of a sacred scripture and the system or doctrine revealed in it. It naturally follows that the second member *-rātri*[28] of the compound name need not have had any specific connotation when the term was simply adopted from the sacrifice. The word *rātri* is suffice to mean just "night", referring to the earliest stage of the creation of the cosmos, during which period the supreme and absolute God is said to be dormant. Upon awakening the Supreme God takes the process of the four Vyūhas to emarge one after another, as a great solo-performer of the miraculous cosmogonic drama.

This process could be interpreted as the self-sacrifice of the Almighty to give birth to this phenomenal world. In the later Hinduism, the Vedic idea of *yajña* in the special sense of animal sacrifice has been changed from propitiatory rite to an act of sacrificing a part of personal possessions for the sake of others, which is a ritualization of *tyāga*, so important a concept taught by Kṛṣṇa in the

Bhagavad-gītā. This consciousness is percisely underlying in the case of Hindu *pañca-yajña* also.

The fact that a number of wild attempts are made in the Saṃhitās to explain the name *pañcarātra* somehow or other and that there is no unanimous definition of it implicitly affirm the validity of our conclusion.

The explanation given above rejects the still prevalent view of F. Otto Schrader, followed by S. Dasgupta and many others. In his *Introduction*, Schrader suggests:

"It appears, then, that the sect took its name from its central dogma which was the Pañcarātra Sattra of Nārāyaṇa interpreted philosophically as the fivefold selfmanifestation of God by means of His Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin, and Arcā forms."[29]

It is indeed true, as already mentioned, that God's fivefold self-manifestation is one of the most important doctrines of the systematized Pāñcarātra school that were destined to be taken over by Śrīvaiṣṇava theology. But this doctrine, upon which Schrader's explanation depends, is of no relevance to creation—the very purpose of the ancient sacrifice referred to in the *ŚatBr*. On the contrary, since God is believed to assume these five forms through compassion for His devotees (LT 11.41 & 50-1), they are usually regarded as the objects of worship in the liturgical context of the Saṃhitās.[30] Although Schrader's statement, "The theoretical philosophy of the Pāñcarātras is inseparably bound up with the story of creation", is quite valid in itself,[31] it is contradicted by his very explanation of the name Pañcarātra.

Moreover, there seems to be no clear evidence of grouping the five forms together in four of the earliest texts, the Nārāyaṇīya, *Sātvata*, *Pauṣkara*, and *Jayākhya*. Only the first three forms are mentioned in the latter

three Saṃhitās.[32] On the other hand, the word *pañcarātra* is not infrequently found already in the Nārāyaṇīya, as well as in our earliest Saṃhitās. It is evident from all of these considerations that the sect-name had originally no relation to this doctrine of God's fivefold self-manifestation, which was first systematized in the later Saṃhitās, beginning with the *Ahirbudhnya* (cf. e.g., 1.1, 11.63).

In the ancient Vedic tradition there is another interesting fact that again seems to testify to the affinity between Nārāyaṇa and the Pāñcarātra system. According to the *Ṛgveda Anukramaṇī*, Nārāyaṇa is supposed to be the author of the Puruṣa hymn,[33] and in *ŚatapathaBr* 13.6.2.12 that hymn of sixteen stanzas is referred to by the name of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa itself. Thus in the Nārāyaṇīya, the following verse is found:

idaṃ puruṣa-sūktaṃ hi sarva-vedeṣu pārthiva! /
ṛtaṃ satyaṃ ca vikhyātam ṛṣi-siṅhena cintitam //
(MBh 12.338.5)

Now, if Nārāyaṇa was regarded as the author of the hymn from which the early Pāñcarātrikas obtained the idea of the Vyūha theory, and if the name Pañcarātra was thereby transferred from the sacrifice to the cosmogonic doctrine, then He must have naturally been the founder or the original teacher of the Pāñcarātra system. To this view, not only the Nārāyaṇīya but also the later Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās bear abundant testimony. For instance, in the former text:

idaṃ mahopaniṣadam.../ ... pañcarātrānuśabditam //
nārāyaṇa-mukhodgītam ... / (MBh 12.326.100-1)
pañcarātrasya kṛtsnasya vettā tu *bhagavān svayam* /
sarveṣu ca nṛpa-śreṣṭha! jñāneṣu eteṣu dṛśyate //
(MBh 12.337.63; cf. Āg p. 64, lines 5 & 8)

This Bhagavat is in the next verse identified with Nārāyaṇa, who is said to be the *niṣṭhā* of all *āgamas* and

jñānas, such as Sāṃkhya, Yoga,[34] Pañcarātra, Veda, and Pāśupata.[35]

Similar statement can also be produced from the earlier Saṃhitās. In the *Jayākhya* Nārāyaṇa, regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu in the hermitage of Badarī,[36] instructed Nārada in the Pāñcarātra doctrine as taught in the text:

sāra-bhūtam idaṃ śāstraṃ jñānopaniṣadaṃ mahat /
rahasyam aprakāśyaṃ ca brahma-garbhaṃ ca śāśvatam//
anugrahārthaṃ ca *purā kathitaṃ* nāradasya tat /... //
bhūyaś caivāvatīrṇena *viṣṇunā* prabhaviṣṇunā /
muner vai svāṃśa-bhūtasya yad uktaṃ punar eva hi //
badary-āśrama-saṃsthena prabhunā loka-kāriṇā /
(1.41-5; cf. PMS 1.60-4)

The *Parama* states that the Pañcarātra is a name of the *tantra* which was originally composed by the highest Puruṣa Himself and taught to Sanaka in Śvetadvīpa (1.14-36 & 44, 31.6). This position of Nārāyaṇa as originator of the doctrine[37] still continues in the later Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition. For instance, Yāmuna is apparently quoting MBh 12.337.63 in his *Āgamaprāmāṇya* (p. 64, line 10), when he says:

pañcarātrasya kṛtsnasya vaktā nārāyaṇaḥ svayam /

The identical description is found in the *Śrībhāṣya* by Rāmānuja on 2.2.42 (p. 703, lines 12-3; p. 704, line 12). In the passages quoted above, Nārāyaṇa's personal character as the ideal highest (Puruṣottama) to the devotees, which we examined in the explanation of His name in our Saṃhitās, is more clearly shown.

Finally, we may note the close relation of Nārāyaṇa to *dharma*, for this may likewise have contributed to His being considered the original founder of the Pāñcarātra

system. In epic and Purāṇic mythology Nārāyaṇa is one of the four sons of Dharma and Ahiṃsā.[38] Probably due to this Hindu theogony, Nārāyaṇa is principally connected with the *dharma* of the Pañcarātra in the Nārāyaṇīya:

nārāyaṇa-paro *dharmaḥ*[39] punarāvṛtti-durlabhaḥ // (MBh 12.335.76)

nūnam ekānta-*dharmo* śreṣṭho nārāyaṇa-priyaḥ / (MBh 12.336.4)

evam ekaṃ sāṃkhya-yogaṃ vedāraṇyakam eva ca /
parasparāṅgāny etāni pañcarātraṃ ca kathyate /
eṣa ekāntināṃ *dharmo* nārāyaṇa-parātmakaḥ // (MBh 12.336.76, cf. 337.1)

He is also addressed as "sātvata-dharma-goptṛ" (MBh 12.322.5)[40] or "loka-hitādhivāsa" (MBh 12.322.1), and the *Parama* gives no other explanation of the name than this:

nārāyaṇamayau prāhur ubhau niḥśreyasodayau //
sa eva kuśalas tatra, tena nārāyaṇas tu saḥ / (2.96-7)
"They say that both the highest bliss and prosperity are filled with Nārāyaṇa. He is the only expert therein, and that is why He is called Nārāyaṇa."

In the Hindu world, throughout the history of Hinduism, *niḥśreyasa* and [*abhy*]*udaya* are two concepts which are said to be brought about by exercising *sanātana dharma*.

2. *Identification of Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa*

It has been pointed out in the foregoing investigation of the name Pañcarātra that two factors must have contributed, in concert with each other, to the first account of cosmogony in the Nārāyaṇīya; both essentially concern the establishment of the Vyūha theory. One is the identification of Nārāyaṇa with Vāsudeva. Without the

incorporation of Nārāyaṇa into the Bhāgavata religion, Vāsudeva and his three relatives, who originally were in no way connected with the god, could not have been organized into the Vyūha theory or, to use Nārāyaṇīya expression, into the four *mūrtis*, of Nārāyaṇa. The other is Viṣṇu's presence in that religion before the theory was systematized. Without his power of transformation, the successive order of these four manifestations could not have been correlated with the Vedic Puruṣa's four quarters. Consequently, the identification of the three gods, Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva with each other, requires careful consideration. It is this identification, which helps to illuminate the origin of the Pāñcarātrikas, though it has been the subject of much speculation.

It has long been suggested that the identity of these three gods was already established in the ancient Vedic tradition, on the authority of the following *gāyatrīs* found in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*:

nārāyaṇāya vidmahe, *vāsudevāya* dhīmahi /
tan no *viṣṇuḥ* pracodayāt // (TA 10.1.6.5, MNUp 78)[41]
tat *keśavāya* vidmahe, *nārāyaṇāya* dhīmahi /
tan no *viṣṇuḥ* pracodayāt // (MS 2.9.1.8)

But we ought to be suspicious of the antiquity of this perfect identification of the three, for the names Vāsudeva and Keśava never occur in early Vedic literature except here in these two places. Furthermore, the name Nārāyaṇa appears nowhere else in these two texts.

These undisputed facts are suggesting that all of the sections to which the above two *gāyatrīs* belong should be considered as very late interpolations. Although it is hard to decide exactly when they were interpolated, it is possible to show why they must be late.

The apparent similarity between the two *gāyatrīs*

strongly suggests that there is an interdependence of those particular sections. This is further confirmed by a comparison of their opening parts:

mahādevaṃ sahasrākṣaṃ *śivam* āvāhayāmy aham //
tat puruṣāya vidmahe, mahādevāya dhīmahi /
tan no *rudraḥ* pracodayāt // (MS 2.9.1.2-3)

with: puruṣasya vidma, sahasrākṣasya *mahādevasya* dhīmahi /
tan no *rudraḥ* pracodayāt //
tat puruṣāya vidmahe, *mahādevāya* dhīmahi /
tan no *rudraḥ* pracodayāt (TA 10.1.6.1-2, MNUp 71-2)

The identical *gāyatrī* of Rudra in these excerpts seems to be directly borrowed from the opening of *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* 17.11. This section, recurring in *Kapiṣṭala-kaṭha Saṃhitā* 27.1 without the *gāyatrī*, is entirely dedicated to the Vedic god Rudra,[42] and therefore the opening better matches the content. It is the pattern of this Rudra *gāyatrī* that is transferred to various other deities in MS 2.9.1 and TA 10.1.6, wherein are included many of Vaiṣṇava gods.

The *MS* section, which contains eleven *gāyatrīs*, must be dependent upon the *TA*, consisting of six, for the latter is apparently older. In the case of the *TA* text, continual enlargement seems to have undergone with regard to the number of *gāyatrīs*. Manuscripts of the *MahānārāyaṇaUp*, which corresponds to TA 10.1.6, clearly show that this section was constantly added to;[43] for example, the text glossed by Nārāyaṇa has eighteen consecutive *gāyatrīs*.[44] This being the case, the text commented upon by Sāyaṇa must represent an earlier version in the textual history of the *MNUp*, for it has only six:

tatra *ṣaḍbhir gāyatrībhir* ātma-prāpti-dvāra-bhūtā devatā-viśeṣāḥ prārthyante / (ĀnSS 36-2, p. 699)

Two words printed in TA 10.1.6, *dantiḥ*[45] and *durgiḥ*, may betray archaism. *Dantiḥ*, in apposition with *vakra-tuṇḍa*, 'having a curved trunk' (3), evidently refers to the later Gaṇeśa, and *durgiḥ* (5), according to Sāyaṇa, means Durgā. These two word-forms are rarely found in other later versions.[46] If this archaism is admitted, the present section of TA 10.1.6 cannot go back before Christ's era.[47] In the first place, apparently nowhere else in early Vedic literature do the words, *vakra-tuṇḍa* and *garuḍa*, occur.[48] Of these, *vakratuṇḍa* is not likely to be old, as it certainly depends upon the later developed inconography of Gaṇeśa.[49]

The only evidence for the early identification of the Vedic *garutmat* with post-Vedic Garuḍa by many scholars seems to be *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra* 2.5.9.10, where the former is obviously regarded as a chief of the *viṣṇu-pārṣadas*.[50] That particular part of the text,[51] however, must be a very late addition, as already pointed out by G. Bühler.[52] It consists of nineteen short *mantras*, beginning with *oṃ keśavaṃ tarpayāmi*. In the first twelve *mantras*, one new name after another is substituted for Keśava. Then four goddesses appear, followed by the *garutmat* in the seventeenth. This enumeration would have been impossible without the definite influence of such as the already systematized Pāñcarātra doctrine. The twelve names are exactly identical with those of the Sub-Vyūhas and are listed in the same order that is found in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.[53] Then probably, the grouping of the four goddesses must also have been affected by the idea of the four Vyūha consorts.[54] It is unmistakable that the *BaudhDh-s* borrowed the enumeration from the Pāñcarātrikas and not the other way around, for according to Bühler, BaudhDh-s 2.5.9-10 is given in full only in a single manuscript.[52] Now as regards Garuḍa it is significant that even in this late interpolation, the actual name

used is not *Garuḍa* but the old *garutmat*, which is found with remarkable frequency in the Black Yajurvedic texts, as for instance in ŚatBr 10.2.2.4 where *garutmat* is said to be the sun god Savitṛ's well-winged (*suparṇa*)[50] eagle who is the first born and identified with Prajāpati. Yet in the *TA*, which also belongs to the Black Yajurveda, *garutmat* should have been used rather than *garuḍa* if the passage in question had really been a part of the original. Finally, we may mention that Sāyaṇa himself doubts the authenticity of that section and what follows in the *TA*:

ita ūrdhvaṃ teṣu teṣu deśeṣu śruti-pāṭhā atyanta-
vilak-ṣaṇāḥ / (ĀnSS 36-2, p. 699.6)

The compiler of the *MS gāyatrīs* was already familiar with the fully developed Purāṇic mythology, as is easily seen in the arrangement of the popular deities. That is why at the beginning of those *gāyatrīs*, he placed together Mahādeva, Rudra (3), Giri-suta (!), Gaurī (4), Kumāra, Kārttikeya, Skanda (5), and Hasti-mukha, Dantin (6); then Catur-mukha, Padmāsana, Brahmā (7) and Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu (8),[55] and so on. But no such order exists in the *TA gāyatrīs*, which are dedicated successively to Rudra, Danti, Garuḍa, Durgi, and Viṣṇu. This makes it clear that between these *gāyatrīs* the *MS* must be of late origin.

Since there is a close interdependence between the two texts, MS 2.9.1 must have modified and enlarged upon TA 10.1.6, or the corresponding part of another version, so that the total of its *gāyatrīs* accords with the sacred number eleven of the Rudras.[56] The *TA gāyatrīs* are classified by two hymnal patterns. One is *tat puruṣāya vidmahe, ... dhīmahi / tan naḥ ... pracodayāt / /* (2-4); the other substitutes *kātyāyanāya* (5) and *nārāyaṇāya* (6) for the initial *tat puruṣāya*. In MS 2.9.1, although the second

pattern is utilized in three cases (7, 10 &13), most of the *gāyatrīs* are fitted into a modified form of the first pattern, that is, *tat ... vidmahe*, etc.

Now we can explain how the Viṣṇu *gāyatrī* of *TA* is changed into that of the *MS*. In order to fit the *TA gāyatrī* into his modified pattern,[57] the compiler of MS 2.9.1 had to choose a three syllable epithet for the first *pada* to fill up the meter. Unfortunately no such epithet exists for Nārāyaṇa to represent his whole personality; but there was at least one for Vāsudeva, because the compiler should have known the popularized Kṛṣṇa myth.

It was Keśava, a three syllabic name of Viṣṇu often used in the *BhG* (1.31b, 2.54b, 3.1d, 10.14b, 11.35a, 18.76c), to whose temple the grammarian Patañjali makes a reference in his *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini 2.2.34. This is the way of formation, I believe, in the case of the *MS gāyatrī* that the original order of Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva in the *TA gāyatrī* was reversed and then Keśava substituted for Vāsudeva. All the preceding arguments help to drow the conclusion that these two *gāyatrīs* must be excluded from data concerning the early history of Vaiṣṇavism.

According to both the literary and archaeological evidence, the early Bhāgavatas were devotees of Vāsudeva, and that Vāsudeva originally was not identified with Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. We must not expect a conventional identification between Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu in very early days, although such identifications are quite common in the later history of Hindu religion at large.

As has already been discussed, the *Bhagavad-gītā*,[58] the earliest and most important Bhāgavata text, has strongly antisacrificial attitude against Vedic *yajña*. This attitude, *ahiṃsā* so-called, is such an essential idea in the Vaiṣṇava tradition throughout that it would have long prevented

the identification of Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu, for Viṣṇu in the Brāhmaṇa literature is identical with the sacrifice itself.[59] This is also one of the reasons why the name Viṣṇu is comparatively infrequent in the earlier principal Upaniṣads and in the *BhG*. Patañjali, who certainly knew the identification of Vāsudeva with Kṛṣṇa,[60] nowhere equates Viṣṇu with these two in his *Mahābhāṣya*.[61]

Scholars in the past have unanimously seen the first identification of Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu in the famous Bhāgavata inscription of Besnagar (*ca* 100 B.C.), which records the erection of the Garuḍa-dhvaja in honor of Vāsudeva, God of gods.[62] But strangely enough, they never bring to bear any adequate evidence to prove that by this time Garuḍa was regarded as the emblem of Viṣṇu, relying as they may only upon the later well-known Vaiṣṇava mythology. From the point of view of epic and Purāṇic mythology, the *gāyatrī* of Garuḍa found in TA 10.1.6.3 is definitely out of place.[63] The intervention of *durgi* (TA 10.1.6.4) between *garuḍa* and *viṣṇu* may suggest that there was little relation of Garuḍa to Viṣṇu in those earlier days. We have already noted the late passage of BaudhDh-s 2.5.9.10, where the name used is not Garuḍa but still the old *garutmat*.

However, two inscriptions, which at present are dated shortly after that of Besnagar, in the latter half of the first century B.C., express a new alignment of the Bhāgavata cult toward the Vedic tradition.[64] One is the Ghosundi inscription, which perhaps refers to an *aśvamedha* ceremony by a Bhāgavata King.[65] The other is a non-Bhāgavata record of the Nanaghat inscription, in which Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva are included among Vedic gods and references are made to the *dakṣiṇās*, at times amounting to enormous sums, for various Vedic sacrifices.[66] In view of

the later identity of Viṣṇu with Vāsudeva among the Bhāgavatas or more generally in the Vaiṣṇavism of the epic and Purāṇas, these two inscriptions may well presuppose that the identification process had already begun by that time.

The *Bhagavad-gītā* also seems to reflect the identification process. In this text the word Viṣṇu occurs only three times. It is first found in 10.21a: *ādityānām aham viṣṇuḥ*. But this *pada* is placed at the beginning of a list of God's divine manifestations (*divyā vibhūti*, 10.40), showing that He is the highest or best member in every category of existence, and is even called *dyūtaṃ chalayatām* (10.36). The enumeration, then, merely illustrates the essential teaching, that is,

yad yad vibhūtimat sattvaṃ śrīmad ūrjitam eva vā /
tad tad evāvagaccha tvaṃ mama tejoṃśa-saṃbhavam // (BhG 10.41; cf. MNUp 207-8)

Pada 10.21a, consequently, would have no more special significance than such others as 22 (*devānām asmi vāsavaḥ*) and 23 (*rudrāṇāṃ śaṅkaraś cāsmi*). In the next chapter 11th, however, the God of the *Gītā* is, in a surprisingly abrupt way, addressed as Viṣṇu twice (11.24 & 30) by Arjuna who is frightened after having seen His universal form (*viśva-rūpa*). This name fits well in the context, in view of the humane and kindly nature of the god from ancient Vedic times on. Yet Viṣṇu, as a specific name of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, is found only in this part of speech of Arjuna and nowhere else at all. It is also noteworthy that the adjectival form *vaiṣṇava*, 'belonging to Viṣṇu,' is absent throughout the *BhG* text, whereas it is continually used in the early Vedic literature. Viṣṇu, who soon became the supreme object of Hindu *bhakti*, was probably brought into the *Gītā* by a late compiler. But even at that

time, the compiler did not use the name profusely, for which obvious reasons have been given above.

It was hardly possible for Nārāyaṇa to be introduced into the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Originally this god was not related to Viṣṇu nor to Vāsudeva, as neither of these appears in ŚatBr 12.3.4, 13.6.1, and GopBr 1.5.11. In ŚatBr 12.3.4, Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa first appears as a disciple (*śiṣya*) of Prajāpati, the creator god somewhat nominal in the Brāhmaṇas, who urged him to offer the Soma sacrifice (*savana*) to become the preserver of all within himself and all pervasive in this universe. This Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa again appears in ŚatBr 13.6.1.1, where he performed Puruṣamedha of five days' sacrifice (*pañcarātraṃ yajñakratum*) and thereby transcended all beings and became this entire universe. Here he is found already closely connected with the Puruṣa Sūkta[67] of the *Ṛigveda* consisting of sixteen verses, the whole of which is designated by the name 'Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa' (13.6.2.12). The *RV Anukramaṇī*, incidentally, attributes the Puruṣa hymn to Nārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇa is thus considered to be a god within the hold of Vedic cult, and he is identified with *yajña* until the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata*, which fact will be referred later, just like Viṣṇu in the Brāhmaṇas with *yajña* as already seen.

It is indisputable that Viṣṇu also is closely associated with Prajāpati, of whom Nārāyaṇa was a disciple, from the latest time of the *Rigveda*.[68] In addition, there is a close relationship between Viṣṇu and Puruṣa hymn in the development of the concept of the Supreme God in early Vaiṣṇavism, which is unmistakable as we have already discussed.[69] Consequently, the identification of Viṣṇu with Nārāyaṇa had taken place[70] through Prajāpati and Puruṣa[71] as its mediators before Viṣṇu was introduced into the *BhG*.[72] Such an identification is found in the *Maitrāyaṇīya Āraṇyaka* 6.8 and 7.7.

If Nārāyaṇa is thus closely related to Prajāpati who is sacrifice itself in the Brāhmaṇas,[73] and possibly also to Viṣṇu fused with cosmic Puruṣa, we should not expect to find his being identified with Vāsudeva at a relatively early time, just as in the case of Viṣṇu as discussed above. However, by the first century B.C., there is evidence for the introduction of Nārāyaṇa into the Bhāgavata movement. The Ghosundi inscription[65] explicitly records that for the *bhagavat*s Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva[74] there was erected a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra*, called a Nārāyaṇa-vāṭakā, which shows clearly that Nārāyaṇa must have been absorbed into the Bhāgavata cult by 50 B.C. Among the Bhāgavatas he may not have been regarded at first as the Supreme God himself. But, in one of the apparently original portions of the *MahānārāyaṇaUp* (235-60), which may belong to the third century B.C.,[75] Nārāyaṇa is found as the highest god. It was natural, then, that the Bhāgavatas before long identified Nārāyaṇa with Vāsudeva, their own supreme god. In this way, most of the important, relevant data that has been made available leads to the conclusion that the identification of Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, and Vāsudeva was completed at some time around the beginning of the Christian era.

Once all the necessary conditions were gathered together, the unique Vyūha theory, whose formative process we have formerly discussed, should have been established by at least A.D. 100. One may easily see from its evolution that the main purpose of such a theory was to provide a sufficient and theologically reasonable account of cosmogony to support the doctrine of God as supreme creator:[76]

aham kṛtsnasya jagataḥ prabhavaḥ pralayas tathā //
mattaḥ parataraṃ nānyat kiṃcid asti dhanaṃjaya! /
mayi sarvam idaṃ protaṃ sūtre maṇi-gaṇā iva //
(BhG 7.6-7)

This teaching, that the Supreme God is the source and receptacle of the whole universe, is the fundamental essence of the Bhāgavata movement, and it has never been discarded in the history of Vaiṣṇavism. But, judging by the *BhG* statements, the cult in the beginning does not seem to have possessed a specific cosmogonic theory to account for this essential teaching. Along the identification of Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, a group of theologians within the cult must have expounded a cosmogony into which the Vyūha theory was integrated, in order to fill the lacuna in the Bhāgavata theology. This particular cosmogony should be then named the Pañcarātra after the ancient sacrifice of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa.

The above conjectures have two significant consequences. First, the word *pañcarātra* in our sense cannot go back before the beginning of the Christian era. Second, the adherents of the Pāñcarātra doctrine must have originated within the Bhāgavatism, which would explain the striking identity of essential features between the Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātrikas. They both are in common strictly monotheistic, use the same names for God, insist upon His personal aspect, emphasize *bhakti*, and hold in high esteem the *varṇāśrama dharma* or *svadharma*.

It seems, however, that the followers of those theologians who expounded the particular cosmogony, "Pañcarātra", gradually differentiated themselves from the Bhāgavata trend for some period and came to be known as the Pāñcarātrikas who compiled the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās of *Ratna-traya* and others. As already noted,

among the early Bhāgavatas there was a strong aversion to the formalism of the Vedic animal sacrifice, and it was so persistent that, even in the last layer of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the term Viṣṇu, having been long identified with Vedic sacrifice, was used only twice and in a single passage where that term most adequately suited the context. Probably for the same reason Nārāyaṇa was totally neglected in the *BhG*. This god, sometimes called "*yajñeṣv agra-haraḥ*", "*yajña-dhārin*" or "*yajña-pati*",[77] appears as the Supreme God Himself in the Nārāyaṇīya. But, even in this section of the great epic *Mahābhārata*, the same anti-vedic attitude continues, as the redactor of the Nārāyaṇīya holds the *BhG* in high esteem.[78]

One of the best examples of this anti-Vedic attitude is probably the story of king Vasu Uparicara (Mbh 12.323.1-55). The king was a disciple of Bṛhaspati (3 & 12, 322.44), the priest of gods in the Vedic religion. Once he performed a grand *aśvamedha* sacrifice,[79] in which Bṛhaspati was the *hotṛ* (5). But, himself being *ahiṃsra* (or *sarva-bhūteṣv ahiṃsakaḥ*, 12.322.20), Vasu Uparicara did not, at that time, make any *paśu-ghāta* (10). Because of this, as the narrative continues, he was the only one who could see Nārāyaṇa, while the others including even Bṛhaspati could not (10-1).[80]

Furthermore, the Nārāyaṇīya, except for incidental, brief references to the *pañcakāla-vidhi* and a few other ritualistic observances, does not show any interest whatsoever in such rituals that were fully developed by the later Pāñcarātrikas. Therefore, although the epic section should be regarded as the source of the later Pāñcarātra theology, it represents an intriguing, striking contrast with the elaborate liturgy of the Saṃhitā literature.

The discontent with traditional Vedic ritualism, how-

ever, could no longer have prevailed in the Bhāgavata movement after the incorporation of the cosmogonical account, "Pañcarātra." In the formative process of the Vyūha theory, not only the concepts of Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa but also the Puruṣa hymn of the *Ṛgveda* were indispensable, and all of these were inseparably connected with Vedic sacrifice. Therefore, the theologians who systematized the Vyūha theory were more in favor of traditional Vedic ritualism[81] than the more orthodox Bhāgavatas, and consequently the former group at first was differentiated for some degree as a new movement, an offshoot of the earlier Bhāgavata cult. This seems to be one reason for the absence of the term *bhāgavata* in the earlier Saṃhitās, beginning with the *Sātvata, Jayākhya* and *Ahirbudhnya*. This new group, I suggest, soon became known as the Pāñcarātrikas or Pañcarātrin and, in the course of time, compiled a huge corpus of liturgic Saṃhitā literature.

A remarkable difference between the early Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcarātrikas again points to this differentiation. The primary concern of the Bhāgavata movement was focused on Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, who is believed to be God Himself appearing in human form on the earth and to have preached *Bhagavad-gītā*. This idea is continually expressed till to date, in terms of which there developed elaborate myths and heroic legends around the figure, recorded in such literary works as the *Harivaṃśa, ViṣṇuP*, and *BhāgavataP*. Having this central concern as its matrix, the traditional foundation of the Bhāgavata movement came to be expressed in the notion of Avatāras, which is so effectively inclusive that many other creeds, embracing even local and totemic divinities, were brought together and collectively identified as Vaiṣṇavism. One

may argue that the incorporation of Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa too into the Bhāgavata movement depends upon the notion of Avatāras, which is already explicit in BhG 4.7-8. For many centuries from the time of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the Bhāgavatas went on to furnish the Avatāras with various interesting myths to be found in the epics and in many of the Purāṇas. This is one of the main reasons why the Vaiṣṇavism developed into so large and popular a cult in all over India.

The earliest genuine Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, on the other hand, hardly touch the heroic myths and legends of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa,[82] much less those of the Avatāras. They certainly refer to the Avatāras or Vibhavas, but only to enumerate their names[83] and to explain their iconographic details and rituals.[84] Thus much at least deviating from the main Bhāgavata trend and being somewhat indifferent to literary taste, the early Pāñcarātrikas elaborately developed liturgy as the means of worshipping God and dedicated major portion of their Saṃhitās to that elaboration of liturgy. It is significant to note that Nārāyaṇa appears almost exclusively in the Yajurvedic texts beginning with the *ŚatapathaBr*.[85] One might say that those Pāñcarātrikas formed a group of theologian-priests as ritual specialists among the majority of the basically inclusive Bhāgavatas.

It should be added, in the end, that the Pāñcarātrikas and Bhāgavatas were not forever separated. Both cults were again brought together by a broad syncretic Vaiṣṇavism, at least by the time of the *ParamaS* and probably a little earlier, by the time of the *ViṣṇuP*. We have already seen the frequent use of the word *vaiṣṇava* as a designation of a specific religious school even in the earliest Saṃhitās, and of *bhāgavata* as *pāñcarātrika* from

the time of the *ParamaS.* An interest in mentioning myths of individual Avatāras, only simple and singly though, is shown from the time of the *SanatkS* onward.[86] The Bhāgavata cult itself must have soon become reconciled with the main stream of the Vedic tradition, because of the integration of the two Vedic gods, Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, into the concept of God, and of the new interpretation of the idea of *yajña* as well, and thereby moved into position to claim traditional authority. Without such a historical and religious progress the partiality to the Vedas and the identity between Viṣṇu and *yajña* could not have been maintained so strongly, quite often in the *ViṣṇuP*,[87] and also in the Nārāyaṇīya and the early Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.

REFERENCES

1. Nārāyaṇa is a patronymic of Puruṣa in *Kātyāyana Śrauta-s* 24.7.36. Cf. Pāṇini 4.1.99.
2. Also cf. Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 25-30.
3. MBh 12.326.6-7, JS 2.6-7, 4.125. Cf. e.g., *uttama-pūruṣa* (MBh 12.322.1), *sarvātmā puruṣaḥ* (MBh 12.339.14).
4. Cf. SanatkS Indra 6.30-2, VS 3.17ff.
5. So far as I know, Schrader is the first to have seen this probability, though his discussion is not persuasive enough. See his *Intro.*, pp. 144-5.
6. Cf. Sāyaṇa's intro. to AV 19.6, and ŚatBr 12.3.4. For the *puruṣamedha*, cf. ŚatBr 13.6.1.3, 6, 7, 9 & 11, 6.2.1, 12, 19 & 20, 7.1.8, GopBr 1.5.7 & 8, also see J. Eggeling's Intro. to *SBE*, Vol. 44, pp. xxxiii-xlvi.
   Sat(t)ra is a *vaiṣṇava kratu* (MBh 12.327.49; cf. H 1.49.24, 3.104.7, 106.17, VP 1.4.34, 13.17, VS 11.61). Also see Kane, *HDhŚ*, Vol. 2, p. 1241.
7. Sāyaṇa on AV 19.6 *passim*; he always glosses Nārāyaṇa or Puruṣa by the *yajñādhiṣṭhātṛ*.
8. Hence, e.g., this particular theory is refuted in *Bhahma-s* 2.2.42-3 according to Śaṅkara and other commentators. For the theory in general, see Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 32-41; Dasgupta, *HIPh*, Vol. 3, pp. 37-8; De, *Aspects*, pp. 84-6; Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 49-59.
9. eṣo 'haṃ vyaktim āgamya tiṣṭhāmi divi śāśvataḥ /
   tato yuga-sahasrānte saṃhariṣye jagat punaḥ /
   kṛtvātma-sthāni bhūtāni sthāvarāṇi carāṇi ca //
   ekākī vidyayā sārdhaṃ vihariṣye dvija-sattama! /
   tato bhūyo jagat sarvaṃ kariṣyāmīha vidyayā //
   asman-mūrtiś caturthī yā sāsṛjac cheṣam avyayam /
   sa hi saṅkarṣaṇaḥ proktaḥ pradyumnaṃ so 'py ajījanat //
   pradyumnād aniruddho 'haṃ sargo mama punaḥ punaḥ /
   aniruddhāt tathā brahmā tatrādikamalodbhavaḥ //
   brahmaṇaḥ sarva-bhūtāni carāṇi sthāvarāṇi ca /
   etāṃ sṛṣṭiṃ vijānīhi kalpādiṣu punaḥ punaḥ //
   (MBh 12.326.66-70, cf. 6.61.64-6)
10. According to the Purāṇas, the 1,000 *yuga*s make a cosmic Day of God (cf. e.g., VP 1.3.15, 6.3.11-2, H 3.18.34). Hence, here an allusion is made to "when the cosmic Evening sets in." Cf. *ahas tasya* (=Parameśvarasya) tu *yā sṛṣṭiḥ, pralayo rātrir* ucyate //
    (LiṅgaP 70.68, VāyuP 5.2: Kirfel, *Pañcalakṣaṇa*, p. 54.2)
11. Cf. AS 4.77-8 and see Note IV.4 of my Translation. Thus the Śakti element is already introduced in the Nārāyaṇīya. Also cf. PauS 19.24-53 (Brahman and Vidyā).
12. For the identification of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Śeṣa, see MBh 6.63.10, 12.326.35, H Cr.Ed. 58.47, 90.4, VP 2.5.16ff., 5.1.72, 9.29, 18.36-9, 25.1, 35.3, BhP 10.2.8, ĪS 20.270 & 274.
13. Cf. SanatkS Indra 6.18.
14. Cf. e.g., 12.326.8, 10 & 17.
15. Jacobi's Intro. to *SBE*, Vol. 22, pp. xxxi, note 2; Uttarādhyayana 22 (*SBE*, Vol. 45, pp. 112-5).
16. The same phrasing is also found in the *Kāśikā* (on Pāṇini 6.3.6).
17. Also see Sircar, *IHQ*, 15, pp. 633-8. If the passage is Patañjali's, his date will have to be reconsidered.
18. See Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 51-2, where necessary references are collected. For their genealogy, see H Cr.Ed. chapters 88-9; especially, 88.36 through 89.10.
19. MBh 12.326.37, 327.26, 328.14, 335.15-6, 339.18, AS 4.59-61, 5.40, 6.13-4, SanatkS Indra 6.17 & 28, VS 17.19, PMS 1.37ff. Also cf. Sāyaṇa on AV 19.6.2ff.: *puruṣasya pādaḥ caturthaḥ iha bhū-loke punar abhavat.*

20. Cf. MBh 12.339.20, *catur-vibhaktaḥ puruṣaḥ*, and AS 5.19 & 9.32, where the Vyūhas are equally called "*Puruṣa*."
21. Also see MNUp 64, *ātmanātmānam abhisaṃbabhūva*, and note the preceding passage, where first RV 10.90 is freely utilzed (3-24) and then a few of the Viṣṇu hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (58-60; esp. *trīṇi padā*, 58; cf. 60, 89 : *viṣṇu-krānta*).
22. Also cf. AS 59.6-36 (an attempt to distribute the individual Vyūhas successively among RV 10.90.1-4). See Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 143-4. For the same order in the *śrāddha* rite, see JS 23.115-6.
23. See a typical explanation in AS 5.16-44, 10.13-4, 52.76-84. Cf. MBh 12.326.38 & 67-9, PauS 20.65-6, JS 4.12-8, 13.164, LT 10.18-9, ĪS 24.88.
24. Cf. PauS 42.178. Especially in the later Saṃhitās, the Puruṣa hymn is also prescribed in several Pāñcarātra rituals. Cf. AS 18.32, 23.71, 47.24, VS 16.122, 21.71 & 88, 24.55 & 58, 25.30, 27.55 & 78, ĪS 10.73, 11.273 & 370, 12.78 & 194, PdS 3.18 & 39, etc. For the connection of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu as Puruṣa with the hymn, see BhP 10.1.20, Viṣṇu-smṛti 64.28.
25. For various other concepts of the number five, see Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 45ff.
26. Cf. e.g., SS 5.80ff., 7.3 & 76, 9.44 & 51, 12.17, 25.94 & 183, PauS 29.34-6, 33.24, AS 5.21, 25-6 & 42, 59.6, LT 2.40-2, ĪS 24.82-3 & 98-101, TT p. 133. For *catūrūpa*, see LT 2.38, 8.36.
27. JS 6.195-8, 10.21-2, 13.117-20 & 158-64, and 16.76-7. Viṣṇu is *ādi-mūrti* in SS 12.243; cf. SS 4.31.
28. See Pāṇini 5.4.87.
29. Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 25-6; Dasgupta, *HIPh*, Vol. 2, p. 537, etc.
30. See Note I.7 of my Translation.
31. See *supra* Note 5.145.
32. PauS 32.116, and JS 20.283-4 (the first form being *sūkṣma*). In the *Sātvata* 1.25-7 and 2.7-12 references are only made to the first three, namely, (1) Para, (2) Vyūha and (3) Vibhava.
33. Macdonell's edition, p. 41. Nārāyaṇa is also regarded as the author of AV 10.2 and 19.6.
34. Also cf. H 3.14.3ff.
35. MBh 12.337.64-5. Also see MBh 12.336, AS chapters 11-2, and BhG 14.27.
36. Cf. MBh 12.321.10ff., 326.99, 330.44, 331.15, 16 & 22, AS 5.55, 56.5, H 3.76.19-36, VP 5.37.32-3.

37. Cf. BhG 4.1-3, 14.27. In this respect again, there is the identity of Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, for in AS 11.62-4 the authorship of the *pañcarātrāhvayaṃ tantram* is ascribed to Viṣṇu.
38. Cf. *dharmātmaja* in MBh 12.321.8. Ahiṃsā is one of the most important teachings also in the Pāñcarātra. Cf. MBh 12.323.10, 324.5, 327.73, 341.3, 336.52 & 58, AS 15.32 & 34, PS 6.46, 14.2, VS 11.59; Kirfel, *Pañcalakṣaṇa*, pp. 175.14 & 514.70. It is included among the ten *aṅga*s of *yama*: e.g., in JS 4.46, AS 31.23, LT 27.36; cf. *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 2.30-1, Yp. 63.4. Also cf. BAUp 4.4.23, ChUp 3.17.4, ĪśaUp 6-7, BhG 4.33, 6.29, 10.5, 13.7, 16.2, 17.14, VP 3.8.10 & 15, 3.18.15, BhP 3.29.15, H 1.19.5, *Viṣṇudharma* 74 (Hazra, *UpaP*, Vol. 1, p. 135, note 66).
39. Also cf. H 1.40.42, 3.33.37, 3.64.26 *(paraṃ guhyaṃ dharmasya)*.
40. Cf. JS 1.45, PMS 1.73-4, BhG 11.18 (*śāśvata-dharma-goptṛ*), GP 1.1.17.
41. Also in Vaikhānasa Smārta-s 10.9. Cf. BAUp 5.14.1-8. The archetype of Gāyatrī is already in the *Ṛgveda* and is dedicated to the sun god Savitṛ:
    tat savitur vareṇyaṃ bhargo devasya dhīmahi /
    dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt // (RV 3.62.10)
42. Notice the use of *śiva* exclusively as an adjective throughout the section (cf. RV 10.29.2, TS 4.5.1), and of *mṛḍ-*, *mīḍus* and *mīḍuṣṭama*. For these derivatives, see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 75; Gonda, *Epithets*, pp. 127-8. For *sahasrākṣa*, see KāṭhakaS 17.11.9 & 15, Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭhaS 27.1.8 & 14, TS 4.5.1.3-4.
43. See MNUp, ed. by Jacob, p. 3, note 4.
44. MNUp 3.1-18. Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā* (p. 5.13), *evaṃ aṣṭādaśa gāyatryāḥ*.
45. And also for *karāṭa* in MS 2.9.1.6, see L. Renou, *JA*, 1937, pp. 272-3.
46. Except the Āndhra recension. See ĀnSS 36-2, p. 796 (*dantiḥ*) and p. 799 (*durgiḥ*).
47. Cf. Eliot, *Hinduism* and *Buddhism*, Vol. 2, p. 153, and Keith, *JRAS*, 1908, p. 171, note 2. This does not mean the entire *Up* is that late. Cf. Mitra's Intro. to the *TA* edition, BI 52, pp. 8-9; and see Note 75 below.
48. The word *garuḍa* seems to occur only RVKhila 2.1.2 & 3. This section must be very late, because it mentions not only Nārāyaṇī (2.6.30), the Śakti, but also a Lakṣmī *gāyatrī* modeled after that of Viṣṇu:

mahālakṣmí ca vidmáhe, viṣṇu-patní ca dhīmahi /
tán no lakṣmíḥ pracodayāt // (2.6.26)

49. Jaiswal, *Origin*, pp. 75-6. Also cf. Winternitz, *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 380-4.
50. For *garuḍa*, Charpentier, *Suparṇasage*, pp. 328ff.; and Gonda, *Aspects*, pp. 101-3.
51. This section is again found in the same structural position in the *Baudhāyana Dharma-śāstra* (2.5.9.10).
52. Intro. to *SBE*, Vol. 14, p. xxxv and pp. 252-3, note 9.1.
53. See Note V.41 of my Translation.
54. Cf. JS 6.77ff., AS 5.26ff., VS 5.52-3, 6.50 & 68, *et passim*, LT 6.8ff., 20.34, ĪS 7.31. Also see SS 9.85 (Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 55), LT 8.25, VS 17.71-2.
55. Cf. *trimūrti* (see Note I.22 of my Tr.), which is still absent in the *BhG* (Edgerton, *BhG*, pp. 133 & 154, note 43).
56. Cf. the eleven *anuvākas* for Rudra in TA 4.5.1-11.
57. This purpose seems to be suggested by the symmetric employment of both patterns in MS 2.9.1.3-13, i.e., 3-6 (modified), 7 (TA second), 8-9 (modified), 10 (TA second), 11-2 (modified), and 13 (TA second).
58. Edgerton, *BhG*, pp. 179-82.
59. In the Brāhmaṇas, "yajño vai viṣṇuḥ" is almost a frozen tag: e.g., AitBr 1.15.4, 3.38.3, KauBr 4.2, 13.8 & 14, ŚatBr 1.1.1.2 & 13, 14.1.1.6, TBr 1.2.5.1, 3.1.6.7; also in the Vedic Saṃhitās, KS 10.1, 25.2, MS 1.4.14, 3.6.1, 3.8.3, TS 1.7.4, 2.1.8.3, 4.2.4.2, 6.2.4.2, VājS 2.25, 12.5. Cf. Sāyaṇa on RV 8.77.10. Also see Gonda, *Aspects*, pp. 77-80.
60. Cf. ed. by Kielhorn, Vol. 1, p. 436.8 and p. 426.9 & 17 with Vol. 2, p. 257.11-2.
61. Cf. the only two places where the name Viṣṇu is mentioned, viz., 6.1.36 (*op.cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 30.18 & 22) and 6.3.28 (p. 149.5). But see Raychaudhuri, *Materials*, pp. 105-6.
62. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 88-9.
63. Or MNUp, ed. by Varenne, 76; only in the text glossed by Nārāyaṇa, the *gāyatrī* (3.15) is placed immediately before that of Viṣṇu (3.16).
64. Raychaudhuri, *Materials*, pp. 116-7.
65. See Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-1.
66. *Op. cit.*, pp. 192-7.
67. Also see MNUp 1-64.

68. Gonda, *Aspects*, pp. 77-9.
69. See *supra* Chapter 4-3 (pp. 91-93).
70. A part of the process of this identification is probably reflected in two sections (1-64 and 235-60) of the *MNUp*, which belong to the original according to Varenne (see Vol. 1, p. 8). Also see Note 21 above.
71. For the identity of these two, see ŚatBr 6.1.1.5, 11.1.6.2.
72. Also cf. JS 11.35, SanatkS Indra 5.2, MaitriUp 6.8, 7.7, MNUp 237 (*viśvaṃ nārāyaṇaṃ harim //*).
73. Cf. BAUp 3.9.6, MaitriUp 6.16 (end): *yajño viṣṇuḥ prajāpatiḥ /*. Also see Gonda, *ibid.* In PauS 41.166, Nārāyaṇa is *vedātman*. Cf. BhG 3.10 & 11.39, where *Prajāpati* is named, and note the sharp contrast given later in BhG 3.17ff.
74. For the precedence of Saṅkarṣaṇa, see *Mahābhāṣya* 2.2.34.7.
75. Gonda, *VŚ*, p. 29; A. B. Keith, review of *Indian Theism* by N. Macnicol, in the *JRAS* 1915, p. 840.
76. For another purpose, see Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 144-5.
77. MBh 12.327.1, cf. 87; or MBh 12.326.9, cf. H 3.10.4 & 52.
78. MBh 12.336.8-9 & 49.
79. Cf. PauS 30.4, 38.243.
80. Cf. MBh 12.322.16-24 & 44-8, 324.5ff.
81. MBh 12.321.24, 326.8, 330.32-5, 335.44 & 54; especially 12.324.1-38 is significant. Note Uparicara as *deva-pakṣārthavādin* (12.324.14). Also see PauS 15.33-4, 20.54-7, 40.44, 42.178-89. The *PauS* also states that the Pāñcarātrikas or Ekāyana Brahmins not only perform rituals with Vedic Brahmins (42.12), but use Vedic *mantras* together with their own (42.149). Also of the stress put on the worship of God as sacrifice in AS 37.39 ff.: e.g.,
yajñārūpa-dharaṃ devaṃ yajate svātmanaiva yaḥ //
tená sarve Kṛtā yajñā bhavantīha mahātmanā / (37.39-40)
82. Nor do they mention the heroic deeds of the other three Vyūhas. Cf., e.g., Baladeva-māhātmya, H Cr.Ed. chapter 90.
83. JS 2.11-8, AS 5.50-9; further, see Note V.72 of my Translation. On this matter also, cf. a rather detailed account in the Nārāyaṇīya (MBh 12.326.71-95).
84. See e.g., Smith, *Iconography*, pp. 123-59.
85. Cf. MBh 12.323.9, PauS 42.187. For the relation of *GopBr* to *ŚatBr* 12th book, see Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda*, pp. 104 & 115-6. Also cf. VP 3.4.11.

86. SanatkS Indra 3.1-83. Further, cf., e.g., LT 8.30-47.
87. See e.g., VP 1.6.41, 2.6.13, and cf. BhG 2.42-6. And more especially, VP 3.8.10 states, "yajan yajñān yajanty enam (= viṣṇum)." Cf. MBh 12.334.24, H Cr.Ed. 30.21-5, 31.5-9. Also note a group of Viṣṇu's epithets, such as *yajña-pati* (VP 1.4.22, 11.47), *yajña-puruṣa* (VP 1.4.23 & 32, 9.60, 11.46, 13.18, 2.3.21, 4.1.10, 5.17.7 & 16).

PART TWO

CHAPTERS ON PĀÑCARĀTRA'S THEOLOGY

IN THE *AHIRBUDHNYA SAṂHITĀ* (I ~ VII)

Translation with Critical Notes

CHAPTER ONE

PRELUDE: ADVENT OF THE SCRIPTURE

One should meditate on the white-robed[1] Viṣṇu, moon-colored,[2] four-armed,[3] of peaceful countenance,[4] in order to put an end to all obstacles. (0)

Homage to the Wheel,[5] who is the bearer of the wheel (Viṣṇu),[6] the principle of Para, Vyūha, and so forth,[7] whose form consists of the three phonemes,[8] Avyakta,[9] its transformation, the sense organs,[10] and so forth. (1)

We bow to the Śakti[11] of Hari, the Pañcabindu,[12] who is the performer of His five activities,[13] resembling the moon, the sun, and fire,[14] beyond imagination, and moon-crested.[15] (2)

Bharadvāja once asked the sinless Durvāsas,[16] who was worshipping the highest place [of Viṣṇu][17] after bathing in the heavenly Ganges. (3)

Bharadvāja

Bliss of the heart of Anasūyā, Reverend sir, Ocean of

austerities, I have a doubt, which you may please solve for me. (4)

[It is found that all weapons and incantations are subordinate to the Sudarśana.[18]] The ocean of weapon-incantations (*astra*) that are used in the Agnīṣoma rites and that are specified in the Atharvaveda,[19] both offensive and defensive (5);[20] the collection of incantation-weapons of the guardian gods of the world, each of which has its own ability; the vast potencies of those that operate in fire, the sun, and the moon[14] (6); the many manifest weapons (*śastra*) which depend on the incantation-weapons[21] and are produced by Brahmā, Rudra and other gods, and which are capable of the protection, destruction, and creation of the three worlds[22] (7); the great collection of charms (*mantra*) that have been seen by all the great sages;[23] the many weapon-incantations of Viṣṇu,[24] beginning with the club, the bow, the conch, and the sword (8), and those of Lakṣmī, beginning with the petal, the peduncle (*gaṇḍa*),[25] and the lotus; and also the many other things which are praised in the same way because of their miraculous power (9)—each one of these has been ascertained to be dependent upon the Sudarśana.

How is its greatness created? Is it created of its own nature or through contact with something else? (10) What is that which is called Sudarśana? What is the meaning of the word? What kind of work does it perform? How does it pervade the world? (11) How many Vyūhas[26] arise from it? Of what sorts are they, and what are they, O sage? What is their purpose? What is the wife (*vyūhī*) of each Vyūha? (12) What is its (i.e., Sudarśana's) relation to Viṣṇu, and how is it regarded? Is it constantly and invariably related to Him [alone], or is it seen as related to another as well? (13) This is the doubt that has come

to me from the perusal of many scriptures. Please dispel it, Sir. I have approached you in the proper way.[27] Please teach me, Sir. (14)

Durvāsas

It is appropriate, my dear, that you should reflect in such a way; [for] each one of your austerities, O virtuous one, is now shining. (15) When passions of their inner organs are brought to cessation through austerities, men have a desire to reflect upon the highest principle. (16) Thus you are not the only one to ask about the above-mentioned matters. The wise, beginning with Brahmā, have made an effort for it, being in doubt. (17) I once obtained an answer to that question from Śaṅkara (Śiva), beneficent to the world, who was explaining it in person to Nārada. (18)

Having obtained the crowning glory [of knowledge] through austerities,[28] Nārada, esteemed by gods, used to solve all doubts of Brahmā, the gods, and the great sages. (19) However, Nārada himself had once come upon a deep uncertainty difficult to be known by the gods, Nārada,[29] a distinguished sage—who had no passion, sickness, or impurity; an ascetic who had controlled his sense-organs; who knew the true rules concerning words, sentences and the means of cognition; a Brahmacārin of self-restraint; who knew the distinction between high and low; attentive, without egotism, eagerly devoted to knowledge in its true sense—could find no one else, although he traveled throughout the three worlds, to dispel the doubt hardly known to among the divine sages, except the moon-crested god [Śiva] who knows everything. (20-3)

In order to meet [the god] Śaṅkara, he went to Mount Kailāsa,[30] the abode of Śaṅkara, which puts to shame, as

it were, all other mountains by its own lustre and which may be compared to the awakening of Sattva[31] that produces excellent knowledge—[a mountain] full of the Siddhas and Vidyādharas, and frequented by the gods and Gandharvas. (24-5) There he found the god sitting together with Umā and being served by the Rudras, the Vasus, the Ādityas, the Siddhas, the Sādhyas, troops of the Maruts, sages, yogins, and various other divine Bhūtas. He is the lord with three eyes, the boon-giver, the trident-holder, moon-crested, the lord of cattle, who always removes the bondage of worldly existence, supporting the three worlds with his eight forms.[32] (26-8) Having seen the lord god, the divine Nārada bowed down, and then praised him ardently with the best words. (29)

Nārada

Homage to you, Lord of the gods. Homage to you, O bull-bannered one. Homage to you, O most compassionate one,[33] the bull,[34] whose vehicle is the best of bulls (Naṇḍin), you who dispence desired objects, strongest, highest. Homage to you, the omniscient and independent one, who are always satisfied. (30-1) Homage to you, who have the form of beginningless wisdom and are ever with your Śakti.[11] Homage to you, who possess the six limbs (divine attributes),[35] the creator and destroyer of the worlds. (32) Homage to you, O Daśāvyaya.[36] Homage to you, who wear the elephant skin, not terrible and yet terrible,[37] much more terrible. (33) Homage to you, the god Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva.[37] Homage to the eldest Rudra.[38] Origin of worldly existence,[39] homage to you. Homage to you, O Balavikāra,[38] slayer of [the demon] Bala.[40] Homage . . . Homage to you. (34-5)[41] Homage to Kalavikāra,[38] Kāla (time)[42] whose nature it is to urge [everything] on. Homage to you, O Manonmana,[38] controller of all creatures.[38] (36) Homage to Śarva,[32] the peaceful one. Homage to Śambhu, who grants happiness. Lord of knowledge,[43] homage to you. Lord of living beings, homage to you. (37) O great god,[32] homage to you. Homage to you, Tatpuruṣa.[37] Knowledge embodied, homage to you. Homage, Ocean of indifference to the worldly passions. (38) Homage to you, full of the lordly qualities, ocean of austerities. Eternally truthful one, homage to you. Essence of endurance, homage to you. (39) Essence of firmness, homage to you. Homage to you, creator of the worlds, full of self-cognition, presiding over the three worlds. (40) Homage, homage to you, Daśāvyaya,[36] who are always changeless. Homage to you, who assume the eight forms[32] of earth, water, fire, air, space, the moon, the sun, and the Ātman. (41) Homage to the helper of all, who presides over the three worlds.

Durvāsas

To the eminent divine sage who was thus praising him with the best words (42), the bull-bannered god spoke the following words sweet with grace.

Ahirbudhnya[44]

With this praise and your devotion I am satisfied, O best of sages. (43) Tell me what I should do now, let it even be very difficult to accomplish.

Nārada

What else needs be said, if only the lord of the world is pleased [with me]? (44) For that is all that all the wise hope and strive for.[45]

Ahirbudhnya

I am pleased, and may your visiting me today bear fruit

for you. (45) Speak out truly, Nārada, whatever is in your heart.

Nārada

A battle like that of the demon Tāraka[46] broke out between Kālanemin[47] and the holder of the Śārṅga (Viṣṇu), who is God of the gods and the creator of the worlds, causing fear to the gods, demons, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, and Rakṣases. (46-7) There flew about a number of Śastras and Astras[19] which looked like the lustre of a thousand suns at midday, and among the armies of the chief gods and demons cut asunder by great weapons, there swarmed groups of Piśācas, Pretas, Vetālas and Bhūtas: some frightened, some astonished, some gathering together, some pleased, some moving together, and some floating. (48-9) When terrible thunderbolts and lightning shot upwards, streams of blood ran down in torrents everywhere dripping from the bodies of gods and demons; and the gods and demons, left uninjured but frightened, ran away in all directions. (50-1) Then, to the Lord of the world, who was mounted in His vehicle Garuḍa[48] with the Sudarśana discus in His lotus-like hand, Kālanemi(n) displayed his entire collection of Astras (52): those that were the children of Bhṛśāśva, those that issued from your mouth, those that came out of Brahmā's mouth, those produced from Saṃvartakāla (53), those issuing from the guardian gods of the world, those of the dwellers in Pātāla, those made out of the [five] gross elements, those produced from Vaikārika (Ahaṅkāra) (54), those made out of the three qualities, those produced by Gandharvas, those produced by Rakṣases and Yakṣas, those named Vidyādharas (55), those that came out of pairs of qualities, those that came out of Śakti,[11]

those belonging to the Atharvāṅgiras, those that came out of the other [Vedic] *mantra*s (56), those performing all activities, both offensive and defensive, spears and lances, in the form of staffs and so forth. (57) They were very strong, very powerful, and were ready to destroy the three worlds. Some of them resembled the lord of mountains (Himālaya), some the lord of elephants (Airāvata), some the ocean, some the sky, and licking upwards with hundreds of blazing flames, they flew in the midst of heaven and earth. (58-9) Dancing, laughing, playing, falling, not describable nor comparable, yellow, white, red, black—they had various forms and colors, various kinds of grace and brightness. All gathered together and were ready to fight, urged on by Kālanemin. (60-1)

However, this entire collection of Astras both offensive and defensive, containing secret ones as well, was all together like a moth in the great fire of Sudarśana raised in the hand of Nārāyaṇa, and the great demon Kālanemi(n) became a full oblation to that fire.[49] (62-3)

Having seen this battle, I was astonished. It was a great wonder. I bowed down to Kṛṣṇa, Lord of the world, who had disappeared in that moment. (64) And I carried about the heavy weight of doubt in my heart. Now I have come here to you in order to dispel that doubt (65), for there will be no one to dispel it except the omniscient Īśāna.[37]

Ahirbudhnya

Divine sage, speak out the doubts which are in your mind. (66) Even if they are hard to explain [for you], I will now dispel them all.

Durvāsas

Then the Glorious Śarva,[32] his heart being pleased,

fully explained the questions asked by the divine sage Nārada in due order.

This has been called a sacred scripture, Saṃhitā, of Pañcarātra, the name Saṃhitā being preceded by Ahirbudhnya.[50] It contains the meaning of various *mantras*, and an account of the chief activities of the Para [form of Viṣṇu],[6] and of the happenings of former ages.[51] (67-9) It is a union of various systems of doctrines,[52] and is embellished with various knowledge.

Here [in this world], two hundred and forty chapters [of the text] were [first] displayed. (70) Then in the period of Dvāpara, being refined by Guhya by eliminating lengthy details for the goods of mankind, it came to have one hundred and twenty chapters. (71) Then, again, after the evening portion of Dvāpara passed away, because of the diminuition of men's understanding and for their benefit, I made another condensation[53] of the scripture into sixty chapters, with the permission of Vyāsa.[54] (72-3)

In the same way that the revered sage Nārada proposed the questions and Śarva[32] answered them, learn everything from me. (74)

REFERENCES

The following text is here referred for translation:

Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā of the Pāñcarātrāgama, 2 vols., 2nd edition revised by Pandit V. Krishnamacharya, The Adyar Library Series Vol. IV, Madras, 1966.

An elaborate and excellent introduction to this Saṃhitā is available, written by F. Otto Schrader as early as 1916, which is still considered to be a valuable work of its kind, though a few minor corrections are now necessary.

F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, Madras, 1916.

This work consists of general survey of the literatures and philosophy of Pāñcarātra, as well as a brief review upon the origin, *etc.*, with a summary of all the chapters of the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* in particular.

S.N. Dasgupta also wrote on "Philosophy of the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā" in a chapter in his *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. III, Cambridge, 1961, pp. 34-62.

Details of the Saṃhitā's content may be gathered from:

H.D. Smith, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama*, Vol. 1, Gaekwad's Oriental Series 158, Baroda, 1975, pp. 43-65.

Also cf. J. Gonda, *Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit*, Wiesbaden, 1977, pp. 96-7, and V. Varadachari, *Agamas and South Indian Vaisnavism*, Madras, 1982, pp. 255-61.

1. This could be possible only in meditation, for Viṣṇu is traditionally *pītambara-dhara*. See, e.g., AS 48.20, LT 38.54, PS 4.38ff., NS 13.178, H 3.80.84, BṛhatS 24.18, DK p. 95.10, etc.
2. I.e., white. Cf. JS 13.158-62, AS 24.8 & 10, PS 13.52, NS 1.34, ŚPS 9.68, VP 3.3.26, MBh 12.335.57 & 60, 336.61. In the Kṛta Yuga, Viṣṇu appears as white (B 1.1, H 2.71.31, BhP 10.3.20, 10.8.13, 11.5.21); see Goudriaan, *Māyā*, pp. 180-1. As for the poetic convention that the autumnal moon is white, see DK p. 2.4, Vikram 29.3 (p. 206).
3. It is the form of Viṣṇu in His highest heaven (LT 17.28) and is called the *para* form to be worshipped for *mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa* (PS 3.16, VS 4.54-5). This form is assumed by God for the sake of *bhakta* yogins (PS 3.9, VS 4.50; cf. VP 5.3.10-3). Also see Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 52, note 3. Usually, His four weapons, *śaṅkha, cakra, gadā*, and *padma*, are distributed to the four hands. See PauS 36.139ff., Table B in Mallmann p. 23. It is also the form of *siddhas* in Śvetadvīpa (PS 1.22). Cf. PS 4.38, AS 5.49, VS 15.14, H 2.121.116 & 136, BhG 11.46, Sāhityadarpaṇa 10.30 (ed. by Kane, p. 25).
4. Cf. AS 48.20. One of the traces of Viṣṇu's kindly nature. *prasanna-vadanēkṣaṇa*, PMS 25.53; *prasannēkṣaṇa*, K 9.4 (=54). 38. For a *dhyāna* on the *sadā prahasitānana* Viṣṇu, see VS 8. 33.
5. A wheel is to be compared with *ātman* in which all the universe is placed (BAUp 2.5.15). For this verse, cf. the creation theory given in AS chapters 5-7 and AS 35.84.

6. Cf. *cakra-rūpa-dharo hariḥ* (AS 33.22, cf. 32.51, 36.63, 47.56); Nārāyaṇa is the *cakra-rūpa* (AS 52.56). It is said to be the dearest form to Viṣṇu, who assumes the form when He wishes to protect devotees and to check their enemies (AS 33.22-3). The Cakra, as the fundamental symbol of Viṣṇu in which is condensed all of the qualities of God, is one of His four main weapons (KumS 2.49), and is said either to be made by Tvaṣṭṛ out of the sun's *tejas* (H 1.9.62-3, 3.2.11; cf. 1.44.38, 1.48.13, 3.39.20, VP 5.33.35) or to be given to Him by Śiva (H 3.84.11; Rao, *Elements*, II, pp. 209-12). For its description, see H 1.48.40-5. For its function to destroy demons, cf. H 1.48.35, 2.48.25, *et passim*, VP 1.19.19-20, 5.29.17 & 21, 34.37, AS 23.43-4. The use of a wheel as a weapon went out of fashion long before the age of the Buddha (Kosambi, *JESHO*, 4, p. 213).
7. Viṣṇu is supposed to take five forms (AS 11.63; cf. 1.1), Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin, and Arcā, (for Vyūha, see LT 2. 1-60, 4.1-31), through compassion for His devotees or in order to favor individual selves (LT 11.41 & 50-1). Also see JS 20.283-6, SS 1.25-7 (the first three), LT 11.4 (*para-vyūhādi*), PMS 8.177, 25.57, ŚPS 2.54-7, ĪS 20.263-4, ViṣvaksenaS (quoted in the comm. on TT, p. 122). For the later philosophical discussion in Śrīvaiṣṇava, see SDS 4.231ff. (p. 115) & 4.297-8 (pp. 119-20), TT pp. 85-142, Y pp. 83-9.
8. *Om* is *try-akṣara* (MaitriUp 6.4). It consists of three morae (a-u-m). See PraśnaUp 5, MaitriUp 6.3, Manu 2.76, JS 2.23, PS 3.88, 6.7. The fourth phoneme is moraless (MāUp 12, MaitriUp 6.23). *Om* is Viṣṇu: *ya om ity ucyate śabdo ... sa evāsi prabho viṣṇo!* (H 3.111.43). Viṣṇu is *praṇava-pratipādya-vastu* (AS 49.58; cf. 24.7). Also cf. JS 2.23, VS 18.26, BhG 9.17, 17.23-4, H 3.41.42-3, 115.23, 131.8, VP 1.9.70, 2.8.50. *Om* is Paraṃ Brahma (BhG 8.13, 17.23; *-nirdeśa*, H 3.19.85, VP 2.8.47, 3.3.21, KaUp 2.15-6, MaitriUp 6.4 & 22, MNUp 327). It is considered as a symbol of Brahman (ChUp 1.1.1, TUp 1.8, PraśnaUp 5.2); as an arrow to hit the mark of Brahman (MuUp 2.2.3-4; cf. MaitriUp 6.24,); as the greatness of Brahman (MaitriUp 4.4, 7.11). *Om* is Ātman (ŚvetUp 4.18), Śiva (H 2.72-50, AS 51.41), or a basis of meditation (ChUp 8.6.5, KaUp 2.17, ŚvetUp 1.13-4, BrahmabinduUp 7, AS 2.27). Further, cf. Brahma-s 1.3.13, Yoga-s 1.27-8, VāmanaP 43.31, LT 36.94, 37.75, 38.3.

Viṣṇu's highest heaven (*paramaṃ padam*, see Note 17 below) should be meditated on in the *praṇava* by yogins (VP 1.9.54, cf. KaUp 2.15). Viṣṇu is to be invoked in the *praṇava* (PS 4.40-1, cf. BhG 17.24), and Lakṣmī appears in the hearts of those who repeat *Om* (AS 51.38, cf. PS 6.6).
Om is the highest *bīja* of all the *mantras* (PS 6.5-7, cf. JS 6.232).
9. See AS 2.29, 4.70-2; cf. AS 54.41 (*bhagavad-rūpa*) and BhG 9.4 (*avyakta-mūrti*). For Paraṃ Brahma as the *upādāna*, see AS 2.30 & 34, Brahma-s 1.4.23, H 3.18.27, VP 1.11.54, 1.2.23 (*pradhānikaṃ brahma*); cf. Rāmānuja on BhG 13.2, VAS 16, 33 (p. 90.12 through p. 91.10), 70, 73, SDS 4.231ff., TT p. 109; Buitenen, *Rāmānuja*, p. 35; and compare MuUp 1.1.9. Also cf. Brahman as *avyaktaṃ kāraṇam* (H 3.16.3).
10. For *akṣa* as *indriya*, see AS 6.18; cf. JS 3.5, 18.2.
11. Every and each thing in this world possesses an individual potency of its own, *śakti* (AS 3.2-3, 6.3), which may be defined as: *śaktiḥ kāraṇa-gatā kāryasyāvyaktatvam* (TK on SK 15-6, p. 196) or *sarva-kāraṇānāṃ kāraṇatva-nirvāhakaḥ kaścid adravya-viśeṣaḥ śaktiḥ* (Y p. 97.1-6). Also in AS 16.4-7, *sva-kārya-sāmarthyam*; cf. PauS 22.10. In the case of higher principles, the *śakti* is to be personified as a goddess or a wife of its possessor. Cf. AS 3.41-4, 5.4-5 & 29. For Brahman's Śakti, see AS chapter 3. Cf. Gonda, *VŚ*, p. 55.
12. This is a name given to the vowel ī which represents the *bīja* of Devī. See JS 6.37, AS 17.5, 18.3, LT 32.36 & 48.
13. That is, *sṛṣti, sthiti, saṃhāra, nigraha,* and *anugraha*. See AS 11.45, 14.14-5, 44.55-6, 51.47 & 58, NS 15.127, MBh 12.335.83. Cf. AS 16.4, *devī sarva-kṛtya-karī vibhoḥ*, and also AS 2.5, 24.7, LT 11.3, 17.4 & 36, 21.12-3, VS 15.16-7. According to the Śaivāgamas, Parā Śakti is said to perform these five activities (Rao, *Elements*, I, p. 398).
14. In the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, this triad—the sun, the moon, and fire—seems to be a typical representation of those entities which possess miraculous *tejas* within themselves. See AS 54.29, *tejas-trayam*, and cf. LT 29.12 with 31.1. Further, cf. SS 6.146, 17.56, PauS 20.77, 33.160, 36.361-2, 38.180 & 193, JS 6. 247, 14.36, 16.322, AS 1.6, 3.48, 4.48, 21.5-6 & 17, LT 10.20, 29.38 & 41, 30.19, 62 & 64, 33.46, 37.70, 52.11, NS 13.262, VS 9.99, BhG 15.12-4, BrahmavidyāUp 8-9. The triad is said to be *ātmāṅga* (AS 44.47), and Bhagavat is *tejasāṃ nidhiḥ* (SS 6.212). Lakṣmī-pati

(=Nārāyaṇa) is *pūrṇa-bhāskara-hutāśa-sahasra-rūpa* (SS 25.119). Viṣṇu's *rūpa* is *sūryēndu-vahni-saṅkāśam* (PauS 30.126, cf. 27.275), and Brahman is *vahny-arkēndu-śataprabham* (JS 4.2). Also cf. H 1.54.7-8.

15. This is an unusual expression and could be a Śaiva influence. Cf. AS 1.23 & 27, 14.4, and also 3.13 (Gaurī).
16. Cf. H 3.107.11ff. Durvāsas is a reputed incarnation of a portion of Śiva, and is the son of Atri and Anasūyā (see MārkP 17.11). For his blessing of Kṛṣṇa, see MBh 13.144.35, H 3.111.10. For Bharadvāja as a ṛṣi of the North (*uttarā* or *udīcī diś*), see MBh 12.201.31-2, 13.151.36-7. This may support Schrader's view of the Kashmir origin of the *AhirbudhnyaS* (see his *Intro.*, pp. 96-7). For the sage's name, see VP 4.19.6-8.
17. Cf. H 3.107.17-8. The highest place is sometimes equated with Viṣṇu (MBh 6.62.7, VP 5.1.45), and often with Brahman (MBh 6.62.6, H 3.17.64, VP 1.7.45, 1.14.38 & 42, 1.22.53, 2.7.41, 6.5.68, AS 51.43) or with Brahman's *rūpa* (MaitriUp 6.26). Also cf. *viṣṇu-loka*, SS 25.371; VAS 128-9 & 131. For the description of Viṣṇu's highest heaven, see AS 6.21-31 and my Note on the passage. How to meditate upon the heaven is mentioned in VS 30.52-3 and LT 43.27-8. Cf. SDS 4.359 (p. 125): *dhyāna-rūpayā bhaktyā puruṣottama-padaṃ labhyate*.
18. See AS 1.62-3. Sudarśana is the name of Viṣṇu's discus (PauS 8.41-2, AS 2.1); it may also be considered as the incantation which raises the discus (cf. AS 24.2 & 8, 34.14-6, and see chapters 16-9). According to AS chapters 11-2, the Sudarśana possesses in itself the controlling power (*pramāṇa*) of various systems of religion and philosophy. Hence this term is applied to the original Scripture which comprised everything worth knowing (AS 11.16-48, and cf. *sudarśanaṃ śāsanam* in 11.52), and from which the Pāñcarātra system was extracted (AS 11.62-4) as the pure essence. One may thus infer that all other scriptures are to be regarded as subordinate to the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*. Similarly in the passage which follows in our text, all other weapons and incantations, that is to say, the powers of all other gods, are subordinated to the Sudarśana.
19. See AS 1.56. For the Agniṣṭoma as a *Rgvedic* sacrifice, see VP 1.5.52; cf. AS 16.21, MaitriUp 6.10 (p. 450). Also cf. PauS 27.205-6.

20. Lists of the two kinds of Astras are given in AS chapters 34-5, and 36.13-15. Also cf. AS 31.14, 36.1, 42.13 & 27-33, R 1.27.
21. As is known from the explanation in AS chapters 34-5 and 56-7, *astras* are chiefly made out of *mantras* or magical formulae (cf. Raghuv III.31 & V.57) and do not appear in their specific forms. In contrast with *āyudha* which is taken by the hands to use after proper physical trainings and possesses a limited destructive power, *astra* is discharged only if it is availed through *tapas* or *dhyāna* &c., at times for unlimited destruction like an invincible missile. See AS 40.4-7; cf. AS 1.62 and 2.13 (*astra-grāma*) with AS 2.1 (*mantra-grāma*); PauS 20.110, 27.45 & 53 (*astra-parijapta*), AS 34.1 & 2, 36.1. Cf. employment (*āmantrita*) of the Jṛṃbhaka Astra by *dhyāna* (URC, p. 135; cf. URC 7.11, *kāle dhyātair upastheyam*) and a function of the Āgneya Astra in URC VI (p. 146-7). *Mantra* is a cause of *astra-śakti* (AS 51.4). *Astras* are sometimes availed as the *tejas* manifested from severe *tapas*; cf. URC 1.15, *Mahāvīra-carita* 1.42. However, *astras* are sometimes said to have visible bodies more or less humanlike (*gātra* or *vapus*, AS 35.93-9). For *astra-vyūha*, see AS 10.47-51. For *śastras*, see AS 10.40-6, 50.104-5.
22. Cf. AS 60.15-6. In this line there must be implied the notion of *trimūrti*, for which see JS 2.16-7, AS 33.16-7, 51.40, PS 2.93-5, VS 3.4, 71-2 & 77; MaitriUp 4.5, 6.5, H 2.125.31, 3.88.31, 107.13-6, 131.8, VP 1.2.59-64, 4.15, 13.21, 19.66, 22.21-32, 37-9 & 57, 2.11.12-3, 4.1.28-9 & 32, 5.30.10, GP 1.4.11, KumS 2.4, 7.44, Raghuv 10.16, VAS 112, ST 1.42. Also cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, pp. 183-4; Banerjea, *Development*, p. 125.
23. Cf. AS 51.79-80.
24. Cf. e.g., H 3.32.36-8, 29.5-7, 72.84-5.
25. Or otherwise not infrequently *ghaṇṭā*, cf. PauS 34.56-7, and JS 13.215-20, where the bells are essentially connected with Bhagavat-Śakti or Lakṣmī. *Gaṇḍa* for 'stalk of a plant' in Buddhist and Jaina literature, *q.v.*, F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. 2 (1953), p. 208 and E.H. Johnston, *The Buddhacarita*, reprint Delhi 1972, Part II, p. 71, note 53. Also see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Bd. 1, Heidelberg 1956, pp. 317-8, & Bd. 3 (Nachträge und Berichtigungen, 1976), p. 692; Th.Burrow and M.B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, 1961, Nos. 986 & 1619.

26. See *supra* Note 6 and AS 10.13-4. Otherwise, *śastrāstra-vyūha* (AS 10.46, 11.12-4) or *divyāḥ sudarśanā vyūhāḥ* (AS 59.63, cf. 60.14-5). Also cf. AS 12.52 & 55, 44.25-30.
27. Cf. JS 1.30-6, AS 2.20, See Deussen, *Philosophy of Ups*, pp. 70ff.; Keith, *HOS*, 31, pp. 369ff.
28. For obtaining *jñāna* through *tapas*, see ŚvetUp 1.15-6, 6.21, MaitriUp 4.3-4, PraśnaUp 1.10, KenaUp 4.8, H 3.108.15, DK p. 13.7, SDS 3.173-4, AS 2.3-4. But *ātman* cannot be known through *tapas* (ŚatBr 10.5.4.15, BAUp 3.8.10, 4.4.22, 6.2.15, ChUp 4.10, 5.10.1, MuUp 3.1.8, MaitriUp 1.2, MBh 12.323.53, H 3.18.29).
29. Cf. H 1.54.6-12, 2.28.43-5, BhP 1.5.23-31. He is a son of Brahmā (*brahma-suta*, PauS 39.36, H 2.65.18; *-putra*, NS 1.7, *parameṣṭhija*, MBh 12.331.13 & 16, H 1.3.9-10), born from the god's forehead (H 3.20.17), and is said to be the best of the *devarṣis* (BhG 10.26, cf. H 3.25.2). As a man of learning (ChUp 7.1.1, H 2.57.48, 81.13) he knows almost everything that happens in this world (*sarva-loka-jña*, H 3.92.1; *sarva-bhūta-mati-jña*, H 2.64.33, cf. 2.57:17, 119.2; for his prophecy, see e.g., MBh 2.71.29ff., K 3.1.130, KumS 1.50)—including some which are comical (H 2.89.25-7) and some that make trouble when they are revealed. And yet he has a strong curiosity to inquire after what he has not yet learned (H 2.110, 128.25). Probably because he has obtained *ātma-vidyā* from Sanatkumāra (ChUp 7.1-26) and the Pāñcarātra doctrine from Nārāyaṇa in Śvetadvīpa (MBh 12.321ff., PMS 1.58), he is regarded as a promulgator of the system (MBh 12.326.100ff., 336.79, JS 1.49, PMS 1.55, ĪS 1.53 & 70, BhP 1.3.8; Āg p. 6.3-4, pp. 14.2-3, 46.6ff.; cf. BhG 10.13), being identified with a portion of Nārāyaṇa (H 1.54.6, JS 1.44, BhP *ibid*). On the other hand, as is in AS 1.46ff., Nārada loves to watch a battle (MBh 2.53.6, H 2.24.61, 110. 42 & 53, 119.18 & 131-2, 126.48 & 99, 127.104, VP 5.16.18-26, B 1.4-5; hence he is Indra's friend, H 2.1.6, 28.43, 110.19 & 41) or a quarrel (*kalaha-priya*, B 1.3 & 5), and causes many troubles (cf. H 1.35.18, 2.1.30-1, 22.49ff., 57.17, 65.45, VP 4.9.5, 5.1.66, 15.3). Also cf. his epithet *priya-saṃvāda* in an ironic sense (H 1.3.8, VP 1.15.91). Therefore, at times, he gets cursed (cf. H 1.3.8-14 & 25, VP 1.15.10, 6.5.43, BhP 6.5.43). Further, cf. La Vallée-Poussin, "Musīla et Nārada"; Gonda, *Aspects*, pp. 221ff., Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 188ff.

30. Cf. H 3.84.4-13, 27.11-3; see Gonda *VŚ*, p. 205, note 37 and p. 210, note 192,
31. Cf. AS 4.46: the essence of Sattva is *prajñā*, and Sattva is the cause of *jñāna*.
32. Cf. AS 1.41, H 3.85.20-1, 87.19, VP 1.8.7, Śakuntalā 1.1, KumS 6.26, 7.76 & 87. Each form has its own *mūrti-pa*: (1) Bhava, (2) Śarva, (3) Īśāna, (4) Paśupati, (5) Ugra, (6) Rudra, (7) Bhīma, and (8) Mahādeva. See Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 40ff.; Rao, *Elements*, II, pp. 44-6 & 375ff.
33. This epithet seems to have been exclusively applied to Rudra in the later Vedic texts. See Gonda, *Epithets*, pp. 127-8. Cf. MNUp 295.
34. Cf. H 3.28.8.
35. See N on H 2.72.43, where is cited the following verse: sarvajñatā tṛptir anādi-bodhaḥ svatantratā nityam alupta-śaktiḥ/ ananta-śaktiś ca vibhor vibhu-jñāḥ ṣaḍ āhur aṅgāni maheśvarasya //. Cf. the six *aṣṭaka*s in ŚvetUp 1.4 (and comms. on it).
36. Cf. BAUp 3.9.4.
37. One of the five manifestations of Śiva (*pañca-vaktra* or *-brahman*). They are, (1) Īśāna, (2) Tatpuruṣa, (3) Aghora, (4) Vāmadeva, (5) Sadyojāta. See MNUp 277, AP 304.24-6, and Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 35 & 42ff. Rudra as *aghora-ghora-rūpa*: MBh 12.103.75, MNUp 282.
38. See MNUp 279-81. Cf. the nine Śaktis of Śiva, namely, (1) Vāmā, (2) Jyeṣṭhā, (3) Raudrī, (4) Kālī, (5) Kalavikāriṇī, (6) Balavikāriṇī, (7) Balapramathanī, (8) Sarvabhūtadamanī, and (9) Manonmanī (AP 304.20-1, and Rao, *Elements*, I, pp. 398-400).
39. Cf. Bhava in Note 32 above, and see MNUp 278.
40. See Note 38 above and the story narrated in H 3.58.1-53. Otherwise, one may find here an identification of Rudra with Saṅkarṣaṇa, whose names include Baladeva and Balarāma. Cf. SanatkS Indra 6.6 & 27, AS 2.4, 54.7, VP 2.5.19, KP 1.50.40. Hence Saṅkarṣaṇa is not infrequently regarded as the god of *jagat-saṃhāra* (LT 29.66, VP 5.9.28-9, BhP 3.11.30, GP 1.2.19). For Bala demon's single fight with Śaṃbara, see H 3.55.113-48.
41. These two verses are found only in the ms. called D.
42. See Note 38 above. Rudra as Kāla, cf. MBh 12.330.70, AS 35.89, 58.32. He is, as Mahākāla (DK p. 7), the chief god of Ujjainī (Ruben, *Eisenschmiede*, p. 208; cf. H 2.126.158, 2.127.1). For the alliteration of *kāla* and derivatives of *kal-*, see BhG 10.30, AS

3.32, 4.48, 6.49 & 50-1, 7.7, LT 5.26, 16.4, 17.51, VDhUP 1.72.1, *kālo loka-prakālanaḥ*, H 1.3.39 = VP 1.15.112, cf. H 1.6.25. Further, see Dumont, *Īśvaragītā*, p. 185.

43. See Rao, *Elements*, II, pp. 396ff. In the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās there are twelve *vidyēśvaras* (SanatkS Indra 6.34; but eight in Brahma 6.72-4) or eight *vidyādhipatis* (VS 16.78-80, 23.3-4). For *vidyādhideva* as a Vibhava, see AS 5.51.
44. In epic and Purāṇic mythology, he is a member of the eleven Rudras and almost always united with Ajaikapāt. See MBh 1.60.2, 1.114.57, 5.112.4, 12.201.18, 13.17.100 (Ahirbudhna, one of Śiva's 1,000 names), H Cr.Ed. 3.42, 3.14.41, 3.70.24, VP 1.15.122 (a son of Viśvakarman), MP 3.29, 171.39, AP 18.42, 219.23 (a son of Śiva and Satī), PdS 3.10.126. In GP 1.6.35, he appears as Viṣṇu. The word is found already in the *Rigveda*, for a name of the serpent lying in the abysmal waters (RV 7.34.16-7).
45. Cf. PauS 31.150-2, ĪS 20.127, VP 1.12.80, BhP 12.9.4.
46. See MBh 6.91.17, 7.130.30, 8.37.23, H 1.40.22-3, 42.10ff., VP 4.6.11, MP 172, VāmanaP 73, KumS 2.
47. For the story of this battle, see H 1.46.48 through 1.48.51, VDhUP 1.122ff. Also see *Śakuntalā*, Act 6 (end). This demon is said to be reborn as Kaṃsa (H 1.54.64-5, VP 5.1.22 & 64, BhP 10.1.68).
48. Cf. H 1.44.40-7, 1.48.3-4 & 32-3, 3.76.2-5, SanatkS Indra 3.41-9. For his epithets, see H 2.51.63. For his image, see Smith, *Iconography*, pp. 209-19. Also cf. Mallmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50; Gonda, *Aspects*, pp. 101ff.; Charpentier, *Suparṇasage*, pp. 328ff.
49 Cf. H 1.40.23, 48.46, 2.48.25.
50. Cf. AS 59.69, 60.20. For the word *saṃhitā*, see PauS 39.8-9.
51. Cf. H 1.3.77. Otherwise, "and with the rules of the former ages"; compare *pañca-mahākalpa* (Hopkins, *Great Epic*, pp. 115-6).
52. Cf. AS 3.24, 11.16 through 12.54. They are Veda, Upaniṣad, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, and Pāśupata. See MBh 12.336.76 (cf. 337.1), PauS 38.305 & 307, AS 12.3ff., 33. 17-20, 51.41, 54.4-5, LT 1.41-3, VS 3.46, VDhUP 1.74.34, 2.22.133, AP 219.61, ŚBh on 2.2.42 (p. 705.1-4). As to the original Scripture (*mūla-* or *prakṛti-veda*), see AS 11.16-48, PauS 10.211ff., PMS 1.32-77, ĪS 21.197, ŚPS 2.38ff. Also compare four kinds of *siddhāntas* in the Pāñcarātra, (1) Āgama, (2) Mantra, (3) Tantra, and (4) Tantrāntara (PauS 28.293-309, PMS 19.522-43, ĪS 21.560-82, ŚPS 2.54, PRR pp. 3ff., Yp. 30).
53. Cf. JS 1.70ff., ĪS 21.513-89, VP 3.2.56-7, 3.4ff., 4.6ff.
54. His full name is Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa (MBh 12.327.15, 334.9, 337.3, VP 3.4.5 & 7). He is a son of Parāśara and Gandhavatī (MBh 12.337.3; or Acchodā, H 1.18.41; or Satyavatī, H 1.42.62). He is supposed to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu (MBh 12.334.9, 337.4 & 55, H 1.42.61, VP 3.2.56, 3.5, 4.5, VDhUP 1.74.22ff., KP 1.50.48-9, AS 5.56; cf. BhG 10.37), who is repeatedly to be born in every Dvāpara period to divide the originally single Veda into four (H 1.18.41, 42.62, VP 3.2.56, 3.5, VDhUP *ibid*). The four Vedas are taught to his five pupils, Paila, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini, Sumati or Sumantu, and Sūta Romaharṣaṇa or Śuka, with the *itihāsa-purāṇa* as the *pañcama veda* (MBh 12.327.15-8, 337.11, VP 3.4.7-10; *mahābhārata-kṛt*, MBh 12.334.9, VP 3.4.5, cf. MBh 12.337.10, BhG 18.75). This may explain his other name, Vedavyāsa (MBh 12.327.15, H 1.42.61, VP 3.2.56, 3.3, 7, 11 & 19, 4.3), which could perhaps mean "a distributor of the Vedas" (cf. *vedān vy-as-*, VP 3.2.57, 3.9 & 11, 4.3 & 6; *veda-mahānidhāna*, MBh 12.337.4). In the *VP* there is a reference to twenty-eight Vedavyāsas in the past (VP 3.3.10-9) and a future one (VP 3.3.20). In the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition he was identified with Bādarāyaṇa, the famous author of the *Brahma-sūtra*; e.g., Āg p. 53.17ff. (also note his epithet there, *sakala-lokādarśa-bhūta-paramabhāgavata*; and to him is ascribed the teaching of *ekānta-gati* by Nārada, see MBh 12.336.79), ŚBh on 2.2.42 (p. 701.3, p. 702. 9); Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 2, pp. 432-3. Also cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, pp. 58ff.; Chatterji, *JBRAS* 16, pp. 73-87; Kane, *HDhŚ*, Vol. 5, p. 1171.

CHAPTER TWO

DISCOURSE ON BRAHMAN OF THE SIX QUALITIES

Nārada

The discus of Hari, Sudarśana, easily grasped the entire collection of *mantra*s[1] comparable to the sun and fire [in the battle of Kālanemin][2]. (1) Was this due to its innate power or to a power brought about by its contact [with Viṣṇu]? What is that, Sudarśana by name? What is the meaning of the word? (2)

Ahirbudhnya

Listen truly, Nārada, to the highest knowledge, which I, having previously performed severe penance for many years, received directly from Saṅkarṣaṇa, the ocean of knowledge and strength.[3] As I tell it, listen to the true nature of Sudarśana that is unknown to the other great sages, beginning with Brahmā. When that which is the

support of everything[4] is heard, you will certainly have no more doubts. (3-5)

The transcendent Brahman is beginningless and endless, indestructible, imperishable, not divisible into names and forms, not an object of speech and thought[5] (6), endowed with all potencies, called "Whole", the aggregate of the six qualities,[6] undecaying, and steady. It has a will, "I will be",[7] which develops with respect to positive things and also negatives[8] by means of a form whose independence is not to be questioned. The word *darśana* has the same meaning as *prekṣaṇa* (watching).[9] (7-8) The word *su-* expresses respect for its being unimpeded by substance, time or space. Hence it is called Sudarśana. (9)

The cause of the world, the support of the world, the power which regulates[10] the world, the whole aim of the [best] means of knowledge[11] (10), those who are qualified for such an aim and their divisions,[12] the ritual for protecting this aim,[13] and he to whom this ritual is addressed[14] (11)—[in short] everything [in this world] is dependent upon Sudarśana, and is made out of it. Therefore, Sudarśana's form [of power][15] is innate, and is superior to everything. (12) [Thus] whatever majestic ability may reside in entire collections of incantation-weapons, all belongs to Sudarśana; that is to say, such ability has naturally been given to it as its own.[16] (13)

Nārada

God of gods, Lord of the world, Benefactor of the three worlds, my mind seems to be confused and my doubts increase. (14) What is the transcendent Brahman of the six qualities? What is Its mode ? Of what sort is Its will ? Why should it be in the form of *darśana*? (15) And how does it have non-obstructibility, which is beyond all space?[17]

What is the cause of the world ?[18] Of what sort and how many ? (16) What is the support of the world?[19] Of what sort and how many? What is that which is termed the regulating power [of the world] ?[20] Of what sort and how many ? (17) What, pray, is the aim of the [best] means of knowledge ?[21] Of what sort and how many ? Who are those called "the qualified" ?[22] Of what sort and how many ? (18) What is the protection of all this ?[23] What is its ritual, and of how many varieties ?[23] Who is entitled to it,[24] and what kind of merits is he supposed to gain ?[25] (19)

O Glorione One, please answer all these questions for me. I have touched your feet and am sitting near you. Please teach me, Sir. (20)

Durvāsas

Then Śaṅkara explained everything to the sage, who was purified by the sight [of the god][26] and who, after having made salutation, was sitting near and beseeching him. (21)

Ahirbudhnya

The transcendent Brahman is only one, characterized by the experience of painless and boundless happiness, beginningless and endless, Nārāyaṇa,[27] the diseaseless. (22) It makes Its abode in every creature; having pervaded all, It is distributed [among all]. It has nothing to be blamed for, nor is agitated, and is [only indirectly] compared to a waveless ocean. (23) It does not have any contact with ordinary qualities, nor does It reside in those qualities.[28] It is the further bank of the ocean of worldly existence, spotless and unstained. (24) Because It is never limited by form, space or time, It is full, ever-arisen, pervasive, and in no need of giving up [anything that It

has] or of assuming [anything that It lacks]. (25) It cannot be correctly defined as "this", "such", or "so much".

High above the principles, of which each preceding one has more the nature of *ātman* (26), It stands as the highest (*pāramyeṇa*). That is why It is called Paramātman (the Supreme Self).[29] Because[30] It can be attained by means of *oṃ*,[31] because It enters all the principles (27), and because It has *ṣāḍguṇya*[32] as Its quality, It is called Bhagavat (the Blessed One).[33] Because It has Its abode in all creatures (*samastabhūta-vāsin*), It is called Vāsudeva.[34] (28) Because It possesses [or comes down, as *jīvātman*, to] (*āpnoti*)[35] the world, It is described as Ātman.[36] Because It has no individuality (*avyakti*) with regard to form and mode, It is called Avyakta (the Unmanifest).[37] (29) Because It has the potency to be the source of all (*sarva-prakṛti-śakti*), It is called Sarva-prakṛti. Because It puts forth effects (*pradhīyamāna-kārya*), It is called Pradhāna (the Principal Cause).[38] (30) Because It is a leader (*netṛ*) and because It is a breather (*anitṛ*), It is also called Nitya (the Eternal).[39] Because It is breathing (*anana*) and because It is eating (*adana*), It is called Ananta (the Endless). (31) Because there is no measure of It (*mity-abhāva*) in any respect, the wise call It Aparimita (the Immeasurable).[40] Because It is imperishable (*akṣara*), It is called Akṣara,[41] and is Ariṣṭa because It is free from injury (*riṣṭa-varjana*). (32) Because Its true nature is not to be changed and because It is not to be pervaded [by anything else], it is called Acyuta (the Firm).[42] Because It is free from faults, passion and so forth, because It can be an object of the impartial thought (*sama-dhī-gocara*)[43] (33), and because It is equally the material cause of all (*sarvopādānatā-sāmya*), It is called Sama (the Impartial).[44] Because Its true nature is not to be questioned inasmuch as It is beyond the path of thought (34), and because It cannot be conceived (*acintya*) even as "so much,"[45] It is called Acintya. Because the worlds originate (*prabhavantī*) from It, and because It is the [most] eminent existence (*prakṛṣṭa bhava*) [of every class of beings][46] even when everything is produced, It is called Prabhava (the Origin).[47] Because It has no decay (*vyaya-nāśana*) as It is the place where everything is to be absorbed [at the reabsorption of the world],[48] It is called Avyaya (the Immutable).[49] (35-6) Because It is great (*bṛhat*) and because It is increasing (*bṛṃhaṇa*), It is called Brahman[50] in the depths of the sacred texts (i.e., in the Upaniṣads). It is Kapila,[51] because It is to be discovered [only] by the best [of sages].[52] Because It is the most glorious, It is Kāpila.[53] (37) It is a beneficial (*hita*) and beautiful (*ramaṇīya*) embryo (*garbha*) whose name is the heart. That is why the followers of Yoga philosophy call It Hiraṇyagarbha.[54] (38) Because It gives up austerities (*apanāśa-tapas*), It is known as Apāntaratapas.[55] Because It confers happiness (*śivaṃ-kara*), the followers of the Pāśupata doctrine call It Śiva.[56] (39) By means of words like these, which are not far away [from Its reality], but which cannot cover [Its whole conception] as their objects, that principle (i.e., the transcendent Brahman) is implied.[57] (40)

When the good and the bad that have been collected through many lives are totally destroyed,[58] when the net of predispositions is cut off with the sword of correct knowledge (41), and when the three qualities ceases to work,[59] It can be experienced naturally.[60] We cannot express It directly and clearly by means of words such as "It is this." (42) Flying like the king of birds (i.e., Garuḍa)

for thousands of years, one will never reach the final limit of the cause (Brahman), even if one's speed be like that of thought.[61] (43) No matter how high they may go, and no matter how well they may learn, they have never reached the greater manifestation of the rising of knowledge (i.e., Brahman). (44) There in the supreme Self all the principles sink down, and both positive and negative things are stitched[62] together by the Self which is the thread of knowledge.[63] (45) Because It directly watches everything, It is the Self of all. It is the highest place, since time, both past and future, is absorbed within It.[64] (46)

Brahman is not present. It is neither past nor future. It is not in front or behind, above or on either side. (47) It is not spotted or defective, not dark or yellow, not variegated or brown, not tawny or ruddy (48), not dark-brown or mongoose-colored,[65] not black or red,[65] not long or short, not gross or atomic[66] (49), not round or unround, not dependent or independent, not a positive thing or a negative, not to be worshipped as a positive thing (?) (50), not cold or hot, not neither cold nor hot, not painful or happy, not simply painless and flawless happiness (51). It is not a beginning, a middle, or an end of anything, O sage. It is not lying or sitting, not standing still or going. (52) Thus freed from all pairs of opposites and deprived of all imposed properties,[67] the transcendent Brahman is an aggregate of the six qualities as the cause of all cause [of this world]. (53)

Nārada

What is that which is termed *ṣāḍguṇya*, O god of gods, lord of the world? And how can It, devoid of any qualities, be called an aggregate of the six qualities? (54)

Ahirbudhnya

Because It has no contact with any ordinary qualities, It is called *nirguṇa*.[68] Listen, Nārada, to the six qualities. I shall now explain, sinless one. (55)

Those who know the qualities say that the first quality is *jñāna* (knowledge), which is not dull, is self-cognizing[69] and eternal, and has everything as its objects.[70] (56) It is said to be the essential form[71] of Brahman and also one of Its qualities. To become the material cause of the world is called *śakti* (potency).[72] (57) Those who ponder upon the true meaning of the qualities explain that *aiśvarya* (lordship) is Its being a creator [of the world] as increased by Its being independent. (58) While creating the world, It is always free from weariness. Those who know the qualities say that this is one of Its qualities, *bala* (strength) by name. (59) In spite of Its being the material cause [of the world], It is changeless. This is a quality, *vīrya* (energy) by name, and is also called *acyutatva* (firmness). (60) There is no need for It to wait for any cooperating factors. This is called *tejas* (glory).[73] These five, beginning with *śakti*, are said to be the qualities of *jñāna*.[74] (61) *Jñāna* alone is the ultimate form of Brahman, the supreme Self.

The aggregate of these six qualities is the transcendent Brahman as fully possessed of Its own Śakti.[75] It experiences the will, "May I become many";[76] this is [known as] Sudarśana.[77] (62)

REFERENCES

1. See *supra* Note I.21.
2. Cf. AS 1.46-63.
3. Cf. AS 5.34-5 & 21-2, MBh 6.62.39-40.
4. See *sudarśanāśrayatva* in AS 1.10 and *infra* Note 10.
5. For the form *manasa-* in a cpd., see Pāṇini 2.5.77; cf. Raghuv 10.15 and Mallinātha on it.

6. See *infra* Note 32, and cf. PauS 19.38-9, JS 4.101, AS 2.62, ĪS 4.99.
7. See *infra* Note 76.
8. *Bhāva* and *abhāva* are here equivalent to the totality of "this world" (AS 3.41). Elsewhere the terms may correspond to *prabhava* and *apyaya* (cf. AS 9.41).
9. Cf. PauS 8.41-2, JS 4.100, AS 2.46, 3.38, 5.6-7, 51.17. For *prekṣaṇa* as a cause of God's grace, see AS 14.31-2, LT 13.8-11 & 33, PS 30.11; cf. MBh 12.336.68-71, VP 5.38.67. For Sudarśana, also see AS 2.62 & 7.65-7.
10. *Pramāṇa* here is a term given to Viṣṇu's *sthiti-cakra* (AS 10.8-9), which regulates and maintains the fixed limits of the created world at large (cf. e.g., BAUp 3.8.9). It is explained as follows:
    tad ādyaṃ bhagavad-rūpaṃ cakraṃ sthitimayaṃ mahat //
    pramāṇaṃ, yena tat sarvam iyattāṃ pratipadyate /
    (AS 10.14-5)... //
    yais tad vyāpya sthitēyattā sā pramāṇa-sudarśanāt /
    tattve tattve ca maryādā yā yā śaśvad-avasthitā //
    sā sā pramāṇa-cakrasya saṃkalpasya harer gatiḥ / (AS 10.32-3)
    Also see *infra* Note 20.
11. This *pramāṇa* is explained in AS 13.5-6:
    mitir mā gaditā sadbhiḥ, prakṛṣṭā mā pramā smṛtā //
    prakarṣaś ca miteḥ so 'yaṃ yady athārthāvadhāraṇam /
    dhī-sādhakatamaṃ yat tat pramāṇam iti śabdyate //
    That which is to be sought by this means is termed *pramāṇārtha*, and it is said to be the *hitam atyantam* (the summum bonum) of men in any place and at any time (AS 13.7-8). At times, it is identified with the four *puruṣārthas* (cf. e.g., AS 13.37 & 39, 14.2, 15.2). Also see *infra*, Note 21.
12. In this line *tatra* refers to *pramāṇārtha* as in AS 15. 2-3. Cf. *varṇāśrama-vibhāga* in AS 25.3, and AS 15.26ff.
13. The word *tasya* also refers to *pramāṇārtha*, as in AS 16.1-2 (cf. AS 25.4).
14. Cf. *kaś ca tatra* (*rakṣāyām*) *adhikāry arthaḥ* (AS 2.19) and *kaś ca rakṣādhikāravān* (AS 16.2).
15. Cf. *prabhāva* in AS 2.2 and *māhātmya* in AS 1.10.
16. This verse is probably meant to explain Nārada's wonder referred to in 1.62-3 and 2.1.
17. These questions are to be answered in the following pages from AS 2.22 onward.
18. To be answered in AS 4.2 through 8.28.

19. To be answered in AS 8.33 through 9.46. This *ādhāra* is represented by various forms of the Cakra.
20. To be answered in AS 10.5 through 12.55.
21. To be answered in AS 13.3 through 14.45.
22. To be answered in AS chapter 15. Cf. VedS 6.
23. Cf. AS 16.1-2. To be answered in AS chapters 16-9 and 21ff.
24. See *supra* Note 14.
25. To be answered in AS 16.10-29.
26. For the purification effected by sight of a god or sage, see VP 1.20.14, 4.4.42, 5.12.26, JS 22.64, AS 50.76, Cf. Vikram 5.3.4-6 (p. 23), VāmanaP 70.47. Also see Gonda, *Eyes and Gaze*, pp. 47ff & 56ff.
27. For this nt. usage, cf. *nārāyaṇāhvayaṃ brahma* (AS 13.18, 51.57 & 65, LT 2.16; cf. LT 13.14, 21.28, 22.5 & 34). Here an implication seems to be that Brahman is a diseaseless goal of Nāras or creature of God Nara. See our Chapter 4, *supra* pp. 100ff.
28. Cf. AS 2.54-5. Hence It is said to be *nirguṇa*. Cf., e.g., MBh 12.326.22 & 42, 339.2, 14 & 17, JS 4.65 & 86, AS 2.55, ŚvetUp 6.11 & 23, BhG 13.31, VP 6.5.79, VAS 84 (p. 82.19-20).
29. Cf. PS 2.95-6, LT 2.3-6, VP 6.4.37-40, TT p. 5.
30. At the end of a compound, *-yogena* (AS 2.27 & 28, cf. MBh 12.330.3; or *-yogāt*, AS 2.39; *-yogatas*, AS 2.25, 3.10, ĪS 20.144) seems to have the same sense that *-tvena* (or *-tvāt*, etc.) has. Cf. the explanation of *-yogin* given in SM 28, 29 & 37; *samavāyena ... -vantaḥ ity arthaḥ*. Also cf. AS 6.14 & 41.
31. See *supra* Note 1.8.
32. See AS 2.55-62, PauS 30.24-5; Śaṅkara on *Brahma-s* 2.2.44 (p. 496.2-3) and on 2.2.45 (p. 497.1-2), SDS 4.200-1 & 251-2. Further, see *infra* Note 73.
33. Here the author of this text apparently intends to divide the word *bhagavat* into the three constituent syllables and to correlate BHA with *om-ity-āpannatva*, GA with *sarvatattva-praveśatva*, and VAT with *ṣāḍguṇya-guṇatva*. The reason for the first correlation is not clear. The second is again used in AS 52.62 (*svato ... vyāpnoti nikhilaṃ jagat* /; but cf. VP 6.5.75, with VAT). The third one (also see AS 53.2-3, LT 4.48) seems to be dependent upon VP 6.5.74, where BHAGA is said to bear the sense of *ṣāḍguṇya*, although the *VP* substitutes *dharma, yaśas* and *śrī* for *vīrya, bala* and *śakti*. For other explanations of the

word, see AS 33.14-5, 52.60-3 & 71-5, LT 7.2-8, VP 6.5.71-9, Śaṅkara on ChUp 7.26.2 (end). Also cf. M. Dasgupta, *IHQ*, 1931, pp. 98-9, note; Kane, *HDhŚ*, Vol. 5, p. 963.

34. Cf. MBh 12.328.36, 332.27, 335.87, VP 1.2.12, 6.5.80, AS 52.64-70 & 76-85, VS 3.55. Also cf. Kane, *op.cit.*, p. 962, note 1564.
35. Cf. AS 3.42, ChUp 8.7.1. For *āp-*, "to protect", see Manu 1.63.
36. Cf. VAS 76, ŚBh on 1.3.2 (*ātman* from *āp-*).
37. See *supra*, Note I.9, and AS 4.70-2, BhG 8.20.
38. Cf. *pradhīyate 'smin hi kārya-jātam iti pradhānam ucyate* (SPBh 1.125); and see Buitenen, *Rāmānuja*, p. 35. Also cf. VP 1.2.23.
39. Cf. N on MBh 12.326.20.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.* Cf. BAUp 3.8.8-11, MuUp 1.1.5-6, ŚvetUp 4.18; Buitenen, *JAOS*, 79, pp. 176ff.; and Otto Strauss, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 538-47. But see AS 6.63 where *akṣara* is a name given to Tamas or Traiguṇya.
42. Cf. MBh 12.330.16, VS 3.57.
43. Cf. AS 2.41 (*samyag-jñāna*).
44. Cf. AS 4.72, 5.2, BhG 5.19, 9.29.
45. For the meaning of *iyattā*, see the following: *sthitimaryādā* (AS 10.33), *parito-bhāva-veṣṭanam* (Āg p. 4.2), *kārye hi kāraṇēyattā, payaso dadhi-saṃbhave* (AS 59.15); also cf. AS 10.11, 15, 17, 20, 22 & 23, 59.16-7.
46. See such a list given in BhG 10.21ff.
47. Cf. BhG 10.8.
48. See AS chapter 4.
49. Cf. N *ibid.* in the above Note 39.
50. Cf. VP 1.12.57, 3.3.21. Further, see Gonda, *Brahman*, pp. 18ff.; Buitenen, *Rāmānuja*, p. 34.
51. He is the supposed founder of the Sāṃkhya system (AS 11.59-60, 12.18-31), the best of *siddhas* (BhG 10.26, GP 1.1.18, BhP 1.3.10, 3.24.19, 6.15.13; also see the commentaries on SK 1). He is also regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. See AS 5.51, 56.31-2, MBh 3.45.25, 12.326.64, H 3.14.3ff., VP 2.14.9, 3.2.54, MP 171.4, BrahmāṇḍaP 3.63.145, BhP 2.7.3, Vācaspatimiśra on the Yoga-s 1.25; cf. SanatkS Indra 3.62-6. Also see Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 98, note 1.
52. Cf. MBh 12.330.30: *vidyā-sahāyavantaṃ mām.*
53. Cf. BrahmavaivartaP 4.73.79: *pañcarātreṣu kāpilam* (probably the name of a Saṃhitā text; so is in 4.133.23-4). Also see Hopkins, *op.cit.*, p. 99.
54. He is the supposed founder of the Yoga system (AS 11.60-1, 12.31-8). Cf. MBh 12.326.65, 330.31, H 1.1.30.
55. Apāntaratapas is said to be born from the speech of Viṣṇu (hence his name Vācyāyana) to be the author of the Vedas (AS 11.53 & 57-8. 12.17). He is traditionally called Apāntaratamas (MBh 12.337.37ff., H 3.72.79, KP 1.50.48), who is to be reborn as Vyāsa (see Note I.54), the son of Parāśara (MBh 12.337.46-8 & 54). He is also known as Vedācārya or Pracīnagarbha (MBh 12.337.61, 325.4.109). Rāmānuja quotes MBh 12.337.61 in his ŚBh on 2.2.42, using the name Avāntaratapas (p. 703.10).
56. Cf. AS 11.61-2, 12.39-44.
57. Cf. Similar lists of *nāma-nirukta* in VS 3.55-68, MBh 5.68.2-14, 12.328.34-51, 330.1-67, H 3.88.42-52, VāyuP 4.25-45, 5.39-46, MP 248.29-51, LiṅgaP 1.70.96-106.
58. Cf. JS 3.22, VP 1.9.54.
59. See BhG 14.5-20.
60. Cf. *ahaṃ brahmāsmi* (e.g., BAUp 1.4.10) and VedS 170-3.
61. For the *manas* as an instance of speed, cf. ĪśaUp 4, MBh 2.47.17-8, H 1.30.7, 40.53, 44.9, 2.24.3, 28.68, 97.2 & 4, 3.132.35, 133.49, KumS 6.36, LT 43.96 (*āśu dūra-gam*), DK p. 29.23. For a comparison of *manas* with birds, see BAUp 4.3.19, ChUp 6.8.2, PraśnaUp 4.7.
62. Cf. AS 22.1, 51.14, 18 & 20, 56.16-7, 57.13, VS 3.70, BAUp 3.8, BrahmaUp 2-3, VP 1.19.83, 22.63, 2.8.97, Īśvaragītā 9.10.
63. Cf. BAUp 3.7, MaitriUp 1.4, Śataślokī 12.55, VedS 91.
64. Cf. BAUp 3.8.9, 4.4.15, KaUp 4.5, 12 & 13.
65. Cf. TS 7.3.18.1.
66. Cf. BAUp 3.8.8.
67. Cf. VAS 82, and *neti neti* in BAUp 2.3.6, 3.9.26, 4.2.4, 4.4.22, 4.5.15; also cf. Gauḍapāda on Māṇḍūkya-kārikā 3.26, Brahma-s 3.2.22, KauUp 1.4, JS 4.110 & 105-6, VP 1.14.39-42. For Brahman as the *sarvakāraṇa-kāraṇam*, see AS 2.43, TT pp. 102-5, Yp. 81.6 through p. 82.25.
68. See *supra* Note 28.
69. Cf. JS 5.23-4 & 29-30, VP 6.7.53. See Hattori, *Dignāga*, p. 101.
70. Cf. Yp. 60-7 (*jñānaṃ nāma sarva-sākṣātkāra-rūpam*) and VAS 84.
71. Cf. JS 4.68, LT 2.24-7; Gauḍapāda, *loc. cit.*, 3.33, VP 2.6.46, 6.5.61, 7.53-4. For *jñānamātma-svarūpam*, see JS 4.58, AS 31.7-

11, VP 2.14.30, 6.7.22. Also cf. PS 2.106-7, VS 4.46, 11.25, VP 1.2.6, 4.21, 39 & 41, 22.41 & 50, 2.12.38, 5.21.18, Yp. 58 and TT pp. 85 & 90 (Brahman's *svarūpa* is *jñāna* and *ānanda*). For *jñāna* as Brahman's *svarūpa-nirūpaṇa-dharma*, see VAS 24, 84 (p. 122.3); cf. VAS 135 (p. 166.1), *jñānādayaḥ parasya brahmaṇaḥ svarūpatayā nirdeśāt svarūpa-bhūta-guṇaḥ.*

72. Cf. AS 59.12-3, and LT 2.29.
73. For other explanations of the six qualities, see LT 2.24-35 & 49-51, 4.8-11, Yp. 60; cf. VP 6.5.74-9, N on H 2.72.43. For *ṣaḍguṇa* of a king, see Manu 7.160, Yāj 1.346, Amarakośa 2.8.18-9, H 2.39.7, Raghuv 8.21, Śiśupālavadha 2.26, N on H 2.53.2.
74. Cf. AS 19.1, LT 2.26 & 35, 4.24.
75. See *supra* Note I.11 and LT 2.36. Cf. JS 6.223: *śakty-ātmakas sa bhagavān sarva-śakty-upabṛṃhitaḥ //.*
76. Cf. AS 30.4, 42.7, ŚatBr 9.5.8.1, ChUp 6.2.3, MaitriUp 2.6, TUp 2.6.1.
77. See AS 2.7-9, 7.65-67.

CHAPTER THREE

SYNOPSIS OF THE OMNIFORM [ŚAKTI OF BRAHMAN]

Nārada

Being an aggregate of the six qualities, how is Brahman fully possessed of Its own Śakti? What, pray, is Its Śakti, by which It is said to be increased? (1)

Ahirbudhnya

Powers (*śakti*), which exist in all things, are inconceivable,[1] for they are not separate [from the entities]. They cannot be seen in their own form; they are seen [only] in their effects.[2] (2) Since, in Its subtle state, a power runs through (i.e., pervades) the whole being[3] of those things, it is impossible to affirm or deny that it is "this" or "that."[4] (3) These powers [nevertheless] cannot be questioned by any of us, insofar as they work in those things.

In the same way, O sage, the transcendent Brahman, [our God] Bhagavat, possesses the Śakti,[5] which pervades

Its whole being,[6] just as the moon possesses moonlight.[7] This Śakti runs through [all] positive and negative things, and performs all the tasks of the Lord. (4-5) She is Viṣṇu's vibration[8] in the form of His independence[9] and with the consistency of (i.e., materially composed of) the world.[10] She has two forms, one manifest [to produce this world][11] and the other unmanifest, the two being the opening[11] and closing of [Viṣṇu's] eyes incarnate. (6) Because She has no requirement, She is blissful.[12] She is independent, because She is always fulfilled. She unfolds the existence of various layers of the world within the wall of Herself.[13] (7) She is eternal, because She is not limited by time. Insofar as She is united with the full form,[14] She is all-pervasive, never goes to ruin in any given place, and is always fulfilled. (8)

When She is perceived (*lakṣyamāṇā*) as the world, She is called Lakṣmī. When She depends (*śrayantī*) on Viṣṇu's existence, She is called Śrī. (9) Because She is Avyakta, Time, and Puruṣa, She is Padmā, who holds a lotus-garland.[15] Because She grants desires (*kāma-dāna*), She is Kamalā, for she is filled with perfect happiness. (10) Because She is Viṣṇu's ability embodied, She is called Viṣṇuśakti.[16] As She maintains (*pālayantī*) Hari's essential nature, She is called Viṣṇupatnī. (11) Because She contracts Herself (*saṅkoca*) into the form of the world, She is called Kuṇḍalinī by the wise. She is called Anāhatā by the wise because She cannot be touched (or beaten, *anāhati*) by mind, speech, and so forth. (12) She is the awakener of highest bliss because She is the subtle portion of the *mantras*. Because She is the abode for pure Sattva, She is Gaurī.[17] She is Aditi, because She has no qualification. (13) Because She performs all good acts and is very great (*mahīyasī*), She is [called] Mahī (the

Earth). She is Anāhataśīrṣnī, because Her prosperity can never be beaten (*anāhata*). (14) Because She makes the world breathe (*prāṇayantī*) by means of self-cognition, She is called Prāṇā. In Her form of everything that dispels [evil],[18] She is called the Mother (or maker) of *mantras*.[19] (15) As She saves all who sing hymns (*trāyantī gāyataḥ*), She is called Gāyatrī. As She produces (*prakurvatī*) the world by Herself, She is called Prakṛti.[20] (16) As She measures (*mimīte*) [the world] and is extended (*tatā*), She is called Mātṛ (the Mother). Because She does not oppose anyone and is beneficent (*śivaṃkara*), She is Śivā. (17) She is Taruṇī, because She is longed for [by everybody]. She is Tārā, because she saves men from the endless cycle of worldly existence (*saṃsāra-tāraṇa*). Because she has no false form, She is Satyā. She is Satī, because She has a positive conformity with non-duality. (18) Because all alterations [of essential truth] come to an end in Her (*śāntāśeṣa-vikāra*), She is thought of as Śāntā by the wise. Because she dispels ignorance (*mohān apanayantī*) and yet causes delusion (*mohanāt*), She is Mohinī.[21] (19) She is Iḍā, because She governs offerings (*havir-adhiṣṭhāna*) and because She is desired (*iṣyamāna*). Because She causes delight (*ramayantī*), She is called Rantī and Rati. (20) She is Viśruti, because She is well-known (*viśrutā*) to the virtuous. Because She promotes memory (*smārayantī*), She is Sarasvatī. Because She has unlimited light (*anavacchinna-bhāsa*), She is called Mahābhāsā. (21) By means of these appropriate names found in many scriptures, the highest Śakti of Viṣṇu has been revealed in all Her glory. (22) Like the firmness of the ocean, like the breadth of sky, like the light of the sun, like the moonlight of the moon (23), the sacred Śakti of Nārāyaṇa is admitted in all doctrines to comprise all the limbs of Viṣṇu and to run through all things positive and

negative. (24)

She is different from Brahman, God in the highest, who is the possessor of the Śakti. He and She have been explained as though they were a single principle in the scriptures, for their essential natures stand in the relation of property and its possessor, and their true forms stand in the relation of essence and its becoming.

Through the independence that is Her true form, this miraculous consort of Viṣṇu (25-6) happens to open Her eyes in a certain way, when She is about to become the world. This awakening of Lakṣmī, which represents only an immeasurably small portion of Her, is divided into two kinds: the Kriyā (śakti) and the Bhūti (śakti).[22] The Bhūtiśakti is said to have three parts (27-8); these forms will be explained later as Avyakta, Kāla and Puruṣa.[23]

The awakening, which is known as Kriyā, causes Bhūti's full development. (29) It belongs to Lakṣmī,[24] and is said to be Viṣṇu's will in the form of life.[25] Its root is independence; its essential character, desire; its form, watching; its results, action. (30) This awakening, the good will [of Viṣṇu], that is never impeded in any action, develops the Bhūtīśakti of Viṣṇu—also a portion of Lakṣmī that manifests itself in the form of Avyakta, Time and Puruṣa, having both sentience and non-sentience as its essential nature. At the time of creation, the Kriyāśakti combines Avyakta with transformation, Time with the action of urging, and Puruṣa with the effort for enjoyment. At the time of dissolution, it disjoins those by taking their three abilities away from them. (31-3)

At the time of creation the Kriyāśakti furnishes [to Avyakta] the power for various transformation of itself as the three Guṇas,[26] and at the time of dissolution it does the opposite. (34) At the beginning of creation it places

in Time the time-table, by which effort is [first] united with Avyakta and [then] with Puruṣa, and at the dissolution it does the opposite.[27] (35) The will of Viṣṇu gives to Puruṣa the ability to enjoy[28] and the inability to enjoy, respectively, at the time of creation and dissolution. (36) By means of its true form (i.e., independence)[29] it combines these three closely at the time of creation, and separates them at the time of dissolution, just as a thread does jewels[30] (37); and at the time of preservation, it protects them by watching over their activities. Such a nature of being unimpeded by anything at any time and place [in the world cycles] is the characteristic of Sudarśana. (38)

This will, Sudarśana by name, whose essential nature is vibration,[8] remains [inherent] in every existence, having divided its [own] form in various ways. (39) Listen to the all-pervasive nature of Sudarśana that I shall explain. Upon knowing that, man attains the state of having accomplished his object in his world. (40)

The transcendent Brahman, that is the aggregate of the six qualities and the highest path of yogins, is Nārāyaṇa, the Self of the universe. Whenever He reaches out[31] and controls this world consisting of positive and negative entities by means of His partless true form, then His Essential Being (*sattā*),[32] which possesses the potency to build up the world (41-2)—namely, Lakṣmī, consisting of all essences, the I-ness[33] of the supreme Self—becomes the Goddess, whose relation to Him is that of property to its possessor, and controls the whole world here by means of Her partless true form, just as He does.[34] One [small] portion of this Goddess is the Bhūti (śakti), which is known as the source of the world. (43-4) Within this Goddess is [also] the real operation that controls the

world. This is the partless Kriyāśakti, the Sudarśana portion of Lakṣmī. (45)

When both Lords (i.e., Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī) assume forms delightful to minds and eyes in order to protect the worlds, the Kriyāśakti will stay in His discus and Her lotus. (46) But whenever both Gods wish to reinforce [this] protection, Sudarśana manifests itself in the form of the conch, the bow, and so forth. (47) When both wish to help the universe by means of light, delight, and heat,[35] the Sudarśana Cakra appears in the form of the sun, the moon, and fire. (48) When both enjoy of their own accord the various states of existence, beginning with the gods and demons, the Kriyā (śakti), Sudarśana, becomes a goddess of the weapons belonging to each of them. (49) When, in order to help the universe, both compose a scripture that is the source of various results, the Kriyā (śakti) is the teaching therein conceived in their minds. (50) When both Lords become a scripture in order to help the universe, the Kriyā (śakti), the Sudarśana portion [of Lakṣmī], is the purport of that scripture. (51) When both become the eternal parents of one who is entitled to the scripture,[36] the Kriyāśakti, Sudarśana, is the authority thereof. (52) When both become the meaning of the scripture out of [the desire to give] a sound basis to the means of accomplishing results, the Kriyā (śakti), Sudarśana, is the ability to produce the results. (53) When both at will become the four aims of men, the Sudarśana Cakra is the ability of self-satisfaction. (54) When both assume for the good of the world the form of protection brought about by *mantras*,[37] this Kriyāśakti is a goddess of *mantras* and *yantras*.[38] (55)

This synopsis of the omniform Kriyāśakti, which is identical with Sudarśana, has been given to you. What else do you wish to know? (56)

REFERENCES

1. Cf. *śaktayaḥ sarva-bhāvānām acintya-jñāna-gocarāḥ* / (VP 1.3.2).
2. Cf. *sarva-pratyakṣa-saṃmatā* (AS 21.11, LT 18.15), and also AS 4.75, SK 8. See Note I.11 above.
3. The word *sarva-bhāva* here must be taken in a sense different from that used in AS 3.2a above. Cf. Note 6 below.
4. Cf. *niṣedhair aniṣedhyā, vidhi-kramaiḥ avidheyā* // (AS 21.11).
5. See *supra* Note I.11.
6. See AS 3.24: *viṣṇoḥ sarvāṅga-saṃpūrṇā*.
7. Cf. e.g., AS 3.23-6, 9.39, 51.29, 60.3, LT 1.44, 2.11-23, 3.14, 5.10, 8.9-15, VP 1.3.2-3, K 6.1.55-8.
8. Cf. AS 6.5-6: *sphūrti*.
9. That is, Sudarśana (AS 2.8), or the Kriyāśakti (AS 3.29-30).
10. That is, the Bhūtiśakti. See AS 3.44, 5.9, 8.31 (*jagad-rūpa*), 58.15 (*jagattā*).
11. See AS 3.27-8.
12. Cf. JS 3.18, 10.69 (quoted in the *Sp*, p. 11.8-9), AS 4.73.
13. Cf. AS 5.8, LT 13.22, 22.10, 50.9, 51.24.
14. Namely, the whole world. See VP 1.9.119.
15. The point of this explanation is not clear. The author may perhaps relate the *padma*, which blooms in the course of a day, to the evolution of this world, which takes place during a cosmic Day of Viṣṇu. See PS 3.17 (padma=sṛṣṭi-bīja) JS 2.33-7, PMS 10.110-4, LT 5.22ff.
16. Cf., e.g., AS 16.4-5, LT 28.4, VP 3.1.35-44.
17. Both Sattva and Gaurī is related to the color white. For Sattva, see AS 1.24, BhP 10.3.2.
18. Read *parāhatāugha-rūpatvāt*.
19. The author probably understands *mantra* in the extra sense of *māṃ trāyatīti mantraḥ*. Cf. e.g., LT 22.21 (*trāyamāno mantāram*).
20. Cf. LT 4.51.
21. See Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 124ff.
22. Cf. AS 14.7-10, 16.31-5, 51.70-6, 59.55-9, 60.3-11, VP 6.5.84.
23. See the explanation of the *śuddhētarā bhūtiḥ* in AS 6.8ff.
24. See *kriyāśaktir lakṣmyāḥ saudarśanī kalā* (AS 3.45); also cf. 8.36, 14.7, 16.4 & 32, 58.15, 59.56, LT 2.11ff. So is also the Bhūtiśakti (AS 3.32 *et passim*, 5.12).
25. Cf. AS 59.57ff.
26. Cf. TT pp. 52-3: *vaiṣamya-ḍaśā* or *viṣama-vikāra*.

27. Cf. AS 7.3, VP 1.2.24.
28. The v. 1. reading *bhukti* gives a good contrast here.
29. Cf. e.g., AS 3.26 & 30.
30. Cf. e.g., PauS 22.2, JS 6.22, ĪS 2.86, BhG 7.7.
31. Cf. AS 2.29.
32. Cf. AS 4.72-3, 8.54, 57.20-1, LT 3.1, 6.3, 7.21, 32.17. Cf. VP 6.4.37, 6.7.53, AP 368.27, SDS 2.118 (p. 26). It is the highest member of the category *sāmānya* in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school (Bhāṣāpariccheda 8). For the Kriyāśakti as *mahāsattā*, see AS 16.56.
33. For *ahaṃtā*, see AS 4.72-3, 18.6, LT 2.6-7, 12, 16-20 & 25, 5.1-2, 6.1, 7.4 (*bhagavattā*).
34. Cf. LT 8.13ff.
35. Read *-pākaiḥ* for *-pātaiḥ*, as in the First Edition of 1916.
36. See AS 15.3ff.
37. For the *mantra-rakṣā*, see AS 21.4 through 24.29.
38. For the *yantras*, see AS 25.14-23 and chapters 26, 36 & 48-50.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXPOSITION OF THE DISSOLUTION [OF THE WORLD]

Nārada

Glorious one, Lord of gods, Omniscient and bull-bannered one, you have told me of the cause which develops for the sake of creation and which is pervaded by Sudarśana.[1] What is it? With reference to its form, its activity and its object, please fully explain to me the ultimate cause of the world. (1-2)

Ahirbudhnya

Grasp the truth of the cause, which I shall explain. First of all in this matter, you must understand the dissolution [of the world][2] into Prakṛti.[3] (3) For a given period of time Vidyā,[4] that is, Mūla-Prakṛti[5] or the cosmic Cow, maintains the form of a cloud for the creation of grains and so forth[6] (4); for just so long a period of time, when dissolution is the object of her wish, she subsists as non-

Cow, without milk and shrivelled.[7] Then she is technically known as Avyakta. (5)

Nārada

How long does the creation last, during which she is the cosmic Cow, assuming any form at will, and equal to which is the time during dissolution, when she is the goddess[8] non-Cow? (6)

Ahirbudhnya

A *kāṣṭhā* is traditionally said to be eighteen *nimeṣas*[9] (winks or seconds); a *kalā*, thirty *kāṣṭhās*; a *kṣaṇa*,[10] thirty *kalās*; a *muhūrta*, twelve *kṣaṇas*. (7) A day is said to be fifteen *muhūrtas*, and a night, the same length. A *pakṣa* (fortnight) is fifteen days and nights. A month is said to be two *pakṣas*. (8) A human year is twelve months, and a *kāmya* (year), sixteen human years. Of *kāmya* years, O sage (9), ...[11] Vidyā is non-Cow for just as long as she is the cosmic Cow.

Now then, when she had become the non-Cow and when dissolution was the object of her wish (10), the world here, consisting of the animate and inanimate, was entirely dry and barren:[12] it had been parched everywhere with a violent wind and completely burned up by a great fire.[13] (11) When everything from mountains to a blade of grass has been levelled to the earth,[14] the *mānava-mānavas* (the human race) dissolve into the *mānavas*. (12) Then in turn, those four hundred *mānavas* dissolve into the *manus*.[15] In this way, when the animate group has dissolved into the *manus* (13), four couples of *manus* alone remain on a stretch of earth equal to a tortoise,[16] O sage. (14)

Then, O sage,[17] because of Nārāyaṇa's will, the indestructible Sudarśana, water absorbs the essence of earth,

that is, its scent. (15) When earth has had its scent taken away by water, which is the [original] cause [of earth], the *manus* go beyond the earth and abide in the waters. (16) Earth, deprived of its essence, gives up from then on its own individuality and name. Then the waters prevail in this world of the animate and inanimate.[18] (17)

Because of the same will of Hari, Sudarśana, fire, which is the cause [of water], absorbs the essence of water, that is, taste. (18) Then the *manus* go beyond the waters and abide in fire. Water, deprived of its essence (or taste), gives up from then on its individuality and name. (19) Then this world is just blazing fire, O sage.

Wind, which is known as the cause [of fire], is impelled by the will of Viṣṇu (20) and absorbs vision, that is, the permanent inner essence of fire. Then, O sage, also impelled by the will of Viṣṇu (21), the *manus* go beyond the all fire and abide in wind. Fire, deprived of vision, then gives up its individuality and name. (22) Then this world of the animate and inanimate is [reduced to] wildly blowing wind.

Then, space, the cause [of wind], is impelled by the will of Viṣṇu. (23) This cause indeed absorbs the essence of wind, that is, touch. Also urged by Viṣṇu's Sudarśana, O sage, the *manus* (24) go beyond wind and abide in space. Wind, deprived of its touch, then gives up its individuality and name. (25) Then the universe consisting of animate and inanimate is just space, loudly resounding.

Ahaṅkāra, whose nature is egotism, is [then] urged by Viṣṇu's Kriyāśakti. (26) As it is the cause of space, O sage, it absorbs the essence of space, that is, sound. The holy[19] *manus*, [also] urged by the same (Kriyāśakti) of Viṣṇu, go beyond the place of space and abide in Ahaṅkāra. Space, deprived of sound, gives up its individuality and name.

(27-8) Then the universe is of the nature of Ahaṅkāra, O sage, just saying, "I am."[20]

Buddhi, the cause of Ahaṅkāra, is urged by Viṣṇu's Sudarśana, and absorbs the essence of Ahaṅkāra, that is, its egotism, O sage. The eight *manus*, [also] urged by Viṣṇu's Sudarśana, go beyond Ahaṅkṛti and abide just in Buddhi, O great sage. Ahaṅkāra, deprived of its egotism, gives up its individuality and name. (29-31) Then this universe is Buddhi alone, whose nature is resolution, O sage.

Tamas, the cause, the undecaying cause [of Buddhi],[21] is urged by Viṣṇu's Sudarśana and absorbs the essence of Buddhi, which is known as resolution. The *manus*, also urged by Viṣṇu's Sudarśana, O great sage, go beyond Buddhi and abide in Tamas. This (whole universe) was[22] darkness, without any cognizable mark.[23] (32-4) It was inconceivable, ununderstandable, frozen, heavy, and unenlightened.[23]

Of the two groups of five [physical organs]—namely, [the organs of sense:] nose, tongue, eye, skin, and ear; and [the organs of action:] the anus, the organ of generation, feet, hands, and speech—the corresponding pairs, beginning with nose and anus, dissolve together with their own functions, such as smelling and so forth, into their own causes;[24] this process goes on simultaneously with the dissolution of earth, water, and so forth. (35-7) [With regard to the three human inner organs,][25] two of them, *manas* and *ahaṅkāra*, dissolve into (cosmic) Ahaṅkāra together with their functions, and the organ *bodhana*, into (cosmic) Buddhi. (38)

Now this whole universe remains just as Tamas.

Rajas, impelled by the desire of the Lord, absorbs from then on Tamas' potency of immovability, which consists

of heaviness. The *manus*, also urged by the desire of Viṣṇu, O great sage (39-40), go beyond the path of Tamas and abide just in Rajas. Tamas, deprived of its essence, gives up its individuality and name. (41) Then the world is painful Rajas alone, whose nature is movement and action.[26]

As it is the cause [of Rajas], Sattva, commanded by Sudarśana, absorbs Rajas' potency, which consists of vibration and has the nature of movement. The *manus* in Rajas are impelled by Viṣṇu's will (42-3) and, going beyond Rajas, they enter into pure Sattva, O sage. Rajas, deprived of its essence, gives up its individuality and name. (44) Then this (whole world) of animate and inanimate was the light, shining Sattva.[27]

A property of Viṣṇu, Time by name, is urged by Sudarśana (45), and takes away from Sattva its essence, wisdom, which is the cause of knowledge.[28] Then the *manus* go beyond Sattva and abide in Time. (46) Now this whole world was just Time, O sage, and Sattva, deprived of its essence, gives up its individuality and name. (47)

Impelled by the Lord, a principle, Niyati by name, absorbs Time's potency, Kālī, which drives everything onward. (48) The eight *manus*, O great sage, are [also] urged by Sudarśana and, going beyond the principle of Time, they reach Niyati. (49) Time, deprived of its essence, then gives up its individuality and name. Then this whole universe consisting of animate and inanimate was Niyati. (50)

Then impelled by the Lord, Śakti (or Prakṛti) indeed absorbs Niyati's potency consisting of great knowledge,[29] O great sage. (51) The *manus*, also commanded by the Lord, go beyond Niyati and enter into Viṣṇu's Śakti, which is known as *māyā* (illusion)[30] and has the nature of

expansion [of the whole world]. (52) Niyati, deprived of its essence, gives up its individuality and name. Then this whole world of animate and inanimate was Śakti. (53)

Then urged by Sudarśana, Puruṣa himself absorbs Śakti's eternal potency that works up to the state of awakening of sentience. (54) The *manu*s, also urged by the Lord, go beyond Śakti and enter into Puruṣa. Then Śakti, deprived of its essence, gives up its individuality and name. (55) Puruṣa is the self of all, powerful in every respect, facing everywhere, omniscient, omnipresent, and remains as all, having covered the whole (universe).[31] (56) He is the highest Puruṣa,[32] consisting of the four couples of *manu*s, and is the authority of all activities for the sake of Hari, God of gods.[33] (57)

O great sage, each of the thirteen [principles], from earth to Śakti, lasts for one hundred *kāmya* years[34] with its effect dissolved into itself (58); Puruṣa lasts [in this state] for three hundred (*kāmya* years).

Then Puruṣa, containing the *manu*s, divides himself into four, according to the states of Brahmin, Kṣatriya, and so forth. (59) Each one of these dissolves in a moment into its own place in Aniruddha, such as into his mouth, his arms, and so forth,[35] O sage, just as a heated mass of iron[36] [sinks down] into water. (60) Then Bhagavat (Aniruddha) alone remains for 1,600 years, with the animate and inanimate dissolved into himself. (61) At the end of this time, this god dissolves into Pradyumna, the undecaying lord, who remains for the same period, restraining all his own activity. (62) Then the lotus-eyed Bhagavat, known as Pradyumna, dissolves into Bhagavat Saṅkarṣaṇa, the diseaseless. (63) This firm god (Saṅkarṣaṇa),[37] consisting of all divinities, remains for the same period. Wearing the pure and impure universe,

inlaid with the animate and inanimate, altogether, in his body made of knowledge[38] like a mole (*tilakālaka*),[39] the god Bala[40] Saṅkarṣaṇa is the mountain wherefrom rises and whereinto sets[41] the moon of animates with its spot of inanimates, a moon that follows (i.e., waxes and wanes) according to its sixteen digits.[42] This is the ultimate and perfect (cosmic) Day of Saṅkarṣaṇa[41] (64-6), wherein the various elements of creation are manifested according to their several appellations. Having lasted for 1,600 years, this firm god (Saṅkarṣaṇa)[37] (67) dissolves into Bhagavat Vāsudeva, the eternal.

At that time, O sage, there was neither chaos nor cosmos.[43] (68) For, having destroyed within himself existence and nonexistence, which have their appearance in various developments, Vāsudeva [alone] remains as the indescribable, transcendent Brahman. (69) This transcendent Brahman is also called the (cosmic) Night, or Avyakta (the Unmanifest). Because three (*trīṇi*) pairs of the six [qualities], beginning with *vijñāna* and *bala*, are dissolved (*pralīyante*) in It completely, It is called the (cosmic) Night (*rātri*).[44] Because the manifestations (*añjana*), from Saṅkarṣaṇa to earth, disappear [in It] (70-1), It is to be known as Avyakta. It is also called Sama, because It is uniform (*samatvāt*).

The Śakti of this Bhagavat (Brahman)[45] is His I-ness,[46] that moves within everything (72), and She is also the highest Being (*sattā*),[47] consisting of great bliss, that inseparably accompanies Him. It has been said that those [seventeen principles], from Saṅkarṣaṇa down to earth, are just an infinitesimal part of Her (73), wherein the universe manifests itself in the form of being, non-being, sentient, and insentient.

When the rising of the uproar of the [dissolving] universe completely ceases (74), the Śakti gives up Her difference from God, because She can no longer be observed in Her effects.[48] Having withdrawn the Kriyāśakti, or that portion[49] of Herself known as Sudarśana, which has been active in the dissolution (75), She possesses stability in the form of [Viṣṇu's] will. Just as flame becomes the god of fire (or the bearer of offerings in a sacrifice)[50] because of the absence of fuel[51] (76), just so the highest Śakti of Viṣṇu is united with Brahman. The transcendent Brahman is Nārāyaṇa, and the Śakti is His consort, Nārāyaṇī. (77) Because both are all-pervading and embrace each other very closely,[52] they remain as a single principle, as it were.[53]

Just as long as the rise of Saṅkarṣaṇa endures, which is considered to be the (cosmic) Day of Puruṣa, just so long is the (cosmic) Night of Puruṣa, wherein all things are dissolved. (78)

REFERENCES

1. Cf. AS 2.10-12 (*kāraṇaṃ jagato yat tat ... sudarśanāyattam*), and 2.16.
2. Cf. VAS 74 = SDS 4.181-2: *jagatas tad* (=*kāraṇāvastham brahma*)-*āpattir pralayaḥ*.
3. Cf. BhG 9.7, VP 1.2.25, 1.7.39, 6.3.1-5, 6.4.12-5, BhP 12.4.38, AP 368.17ff., AS 38.5-8, NāradaPR 1.13.24.
4. Cf. MBh 12.326.67, JS 6.225, PauS 19.24ff., AS 7.54, 57 & 60, 15.3, VS 3.48, VP 1.9.118-9. Sometimes, Prakṛti is also called Avidyā; e.g., JS 4.55, AS 6.63, PS 2.4, SDS 5.123-4 (p. 141).
5. See SK 3, H 2.69.66, VP 2.7.42.
6. Cf. AS 7.60-1, VAS 72.
7. Here *rasa* indicates milk and rain. See AS 7.61: *payaḥ kṣarati varṣākhyam*.
8. That is, Lakṣmī. See e.g., AS 3.43, 4.77, Cf. AS 3.13.
9. For *nimeṣa*, see BhP 3.11.7, Śrīdhara on VP 1.3.7 and 6.3.6.

10. According to BhP 3.11.7, a *kṣaṇa* is three *nimeṣa*s and five *kṣaṇa*s make a *kāṣṭhā*. Also cf. La Vallée-Poussin, *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, 8, pp. 1-9. The introduction of *kṣaṇa*s between *kalā*s and *muhūrta*s is not found in the accounts given in Note 11 below, although occasionally *nāḍikā* is used in that place (e.g., VP 6.3.7-9, cf. BhP 3.11.8; for other instances from the *Arthaśāstra* and so forth, see Kane, *HDhŚ*, vol. 5, pp. 476-7). But it is found in *Amarakośa* 1.4.11:

    aṣṭādaśa nimeṣās tu kāṣṭhā triṃśat tu tāḥ kalā /
    tās tu triṃśat kṣaṇas, te tu muhūrto dvādaśāstriyām //

Undoubtedly this verse is simply transcribed in AS 4.7 with the alternation of the grammatical remark *astriyām* to *smṛtaḥ*. The next verse, AK 1.4.12, is modified in AS 4.8. Thus the *AS*, or at least this passage, can hardly be placed before A.D. 400. For Amarasiṃha, see Keith, *HSL*, pp. 74 & 413; Winternitz, *GIL*, Vol. 3, p. 411; Renou, *L'Inde classique*, vol. 2, p. 100.

11. Here is a gap in the text. There must have been given an explanation of Brahmā's day and night (H 3.8.20 & 33-4, VP 1.3.15 & 22), and of his life span (*dvi-parārdha*), after which the world's dissolution takes place (MBh 12.326.70, VP 6.3.4-5, AP 368.17, BhP 10.3.25, JS 2.31-3, AS 38.5-6, PS 26.84-5 & 88). Also cf. the similar lists of time-measurement in H 1.8.3ff., VP 1.3.8ff., 2.8.55-67, 6.3.6-12, VDhUP 1.72-3 & 81, BhP 3.11.3-37, LiṅgaP 4.8-10, Manu 1.64ff., Yāj 3.50ff., PS 2.70-1. Further see Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie*, pp. 334-5; Kane, *HDhŚ*, vol. 5, pp. 475-7.
12. Cf. H 3.9.1ff., 3.10.60, 3.33.15, VP 6.3.17-9.
13. According to the Purāṇic account, "by the fire of seven suns." Cf. e.g., H 1.2.37-8, 1.8.29 & 32, 3.8.26, 3.9.1-10, 3.18.6-25, VP 1.3.23, 6.3.20-6, AP 368.3-7, Veṇ 3.4 & 8; elsewhere, *pralaya-dvādaśāditya* (PauS 20.31), or *saṅkarṣaṇāgninā* (BhP 3.11.29).
14. Cf. H 3.18.22:

    tatrāiva pralayaṃ yātā bhūmitvam upayānti ca //

15. For the terms, *manu*, *mānava*, and *mānava-mānava*, see AS 6.37-43, 7.46-52, 15.3-5, respectively.
16. Cf. AP 368.7.
17. Compare the following descriptions of the text with VeḍS 139 ff.
18. Cf. RV 10.129.3, H 1.8.21-2 & 32, 1.40.15 & 21, 1.52.27 & 32, 2.14.29, 3.8.27, 3.9.13-4, VP 1.3.24, 6.3.30-40, AP 368.11ff.
19. Cf. e.g., AS 6.38-40.

20. Cf. BAUp 1.4.1.
21. In AS 7.8 Mahat is said to originate from Avyakta, which is also termed Traiguṇya or Tamas in AS 6.63.
22. In this chapter (and also in the seventh) the author frequently shifts from present tense (vivid narration) to past. In the present instance he is perhaps influenced by memory of such Vedic passages as "sat tu ... idam āsīt" (ChUp 6.2.2). He continues to sum up the stages of dissolution by a past tense in what follows, vss. 45, 47, 50, 53 & 68, using old Vedic ideas of cosmogony.
23. Cf. RV 10.129.3, MBh 12.329.3, 335.14, Manu 1.5.
24. See the formation process of these organs explained in AS 7.23-42.
25. The *antaḥkaraṇa* is of three kinds: *manas* (organ of imagination and will), *ahaṅkāra* (human, not cosmic, ego-principle) and *bodhana* (judgment). See e.g., LT 7.29-36, 13.34-5, 17.52; SK 33 & 35. Just as the physical organs finally dissolve into their source, cosmic Ahaṅkāra, so the *antaḥkaraṇa* dissolves into its source in two stages. The formation of *manas* is given in AS 7.20, and that of *bodhana* in AS 7.14.
26. Cf. AS 6.57-8.
27. Cf. AS 6.54-5.
28. See BhG 14.17, TT p. 51.
29. According to LT 5.5, the *mahāvidyā* is Lakṣmī's *sattvarūpa*, and LT 7.13 equates it with Niyati, while uniting *kālī* with Time. In *Yogavāsiṣṭha* 3.54.22, Niyati is a term given to the *saṃvit-kathana-santati* (Nirṇayasāgara ed., Vol. 1, p. 260). Also see Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 64-5. However, in the later *BrahmaS* (5.12), it is synonymous with *māyā*; and also in SDS 5. 123-4 (p. 141),

    mahāmāyēty avidyēti niyatir mohinīti ca /
    prakṛtir vāsanēty eva tavēcchānanta! kathyate //

For its function *sarva-niyāmaka*, see AS 6.46-8, 9.24; Schrader, *ibid.*; Belvalkar and Ranade, *HIPh*, Vol. 2, p. 458, note. For Ājīvika or *niyativādin* and *Niyati*, see Basham, *Ājīvikas*, pp. 220-39. For *Niyati-vāda*, see Schrader, *kleine Schriften*, pp. 42-46 & Kaviraj, *Aspects*, pp. 54-60.
30. See AS 38.11-2 (*prakṛtim ... māyā-saṃjñām*) and 38.13 (*vartate jīva-parayoḥ svarūpācchādanāya sā //*). Also see AS 6.63 (*avidyā*) and 45.3-4. For *māyā*, cf. MBh 12.326.43, PS 1.80-2, 2.78, 18.61, VS 1.7-8, 3.2. For *māyā* as Prakṛti, see e.g., VS 3.2-3, LT 15.28, Y p. 37.1, and *infra* Note VI.42.
31. Cf. RV 10.90.1.
32. Cf. H 3.47.20, BhG 6.8, 12.3, 15.16, SarvaUp 3, AS 6.38, 7.2, 58 & 70, 10.19, 16.63, LT 16.14, Śaṅkara on Brahma-s 2.1.14.
33. Cf. AS 6.38-40.
34. See AS 4.9.
35. See AS 6.9-13, and cf. RV 10.90.12.
36. Cf. VedS 50, 120 and 146.
37. Cf. PauS 38.210 & 213, JS 23.125, 16.84, AS 4.67, 5.35, 19.20.
38. Cf. e.g., AS 5.17 & 21.
39. Cf. AS 53.29, 55.36, 59.24, LT 2.45, 4.14, 6.7.
40. Cf. AS 5.17, 53.26, ĪS 20.273 & 278. He is usually called Baladeva (See H 2.14.57-8), Balarāma, or simply Rāma in the epic and Purāṇas.
41. Cf. AS 5.30-1.
42. Here the *kalāḥ* imply the sixteen principles of the Pāñcarātra cosmogony: 5 elements, Ahaṅkāra, Buddhi, 3 Guṇas, Time, Niyati, Śakti (or Prakṛti), Puruṣa, Aniruddha, and Pradyumna. Through these stages, *cit* and *acit* come into existence in their concrete form in this world. Cf. PauS 20.77, BhP 1.3.1.
43. Cf. RV 10.129.1.
44. Cf. AS 8.38.
45. See AS 3.4-5.
46. See *supra* Note 3.33.
47. See *supra* Note 3.32.
48. See *supra* Note 3.2.
49. Cf. AS 3.45 & 51, 5.12.
50. Cf. RV 7.1.18, 2.3 & 8, 3.1 & 3, JS 2.18, VS 3.64 (*vahanāt*).
51. Cf. ŚvetUp 6.19, MaitriUp 6.34, KaUp 4.13, BrahmavidyāUp 9, VS 28.3 (*vaiṣṇavānala-nirdagdha-brahma*).
52. Cf. BAUp 1.4.3, 4.3.21, AS 6.25, PS 2.24, LT 1.43-4, 2.11, 16, 18 & 55, 8.49, 9.2 & 54ff., 15.8-10.
53. Cf. AS 3.25-6.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXPOSITION OF THE PURE EVOLUTION

Ahirbudhnya

The dissolution of the causes and effects has been explained above. I shall now tell you, O sage, their evolution brought about by Sudarśana. (1)

The transcendent Brahman, Nārāyaṇa, is uniform in every respect, because all effects fall asleep in It. It is the abode of all, never touched (2), filled with the six static qualities, and comparable to the windless sky.[1] Its Śakti, embodying emptiness and immobility[2] (3), wakes up at a given time only because of Its indeterminable, independent resolve. The Śakti, the Self[3] [i.e., essence] of Hari, the transcendent Brahman, happens to shine forth somewhere as a goddess, like lightning in the sky. This power, when it shines forth in the [windless] sky [of Brahman], is called [God's] Śakti.[4] (4-5) It is She who manifests various things, pure and impure, together with their forms.

As She awakes, there arises a spontaneous independent resolve.[5] (6) It is the will [of Viṣṇu], ever watchful, and is termed Sudarśana.[6] It is the Kriyā (śakti),[7] and is Hari's *vīrya, tejas,* and *bala.*[8] (7)

Whatever is manifested and resolves within the wall of Herself,[9] is the Bhūtiśakti of Viṣṇu, which is considered to be an infinitesimal part of the (great) Śakti.[10] (8) Through various coupled opposites does this (Bhūti) śakti subsist when it develops into the created things: through the distinction of pure and impure things, through the forms of sentience and its objects (9), through the distinction of time and that which is driven by time,[11] through the distinction of manifested and unmanifested things, through the forms of indicator and its object, through the distinction of expresser and its object (10), through the distinction of enjoyer and its object, through the distinction of soul and body, and through other varieties of coupled opposites of the same sorts. In this way, it becomes divided.[12] (11) Understand, O divine sage, that the (Bhūti) śakti, which becomes the material cause [of this world] through these distinctions, is the divine Sudarśana portion [of Lakṣmī].[13] (12) Just as fire or a cloud is set in motion by the wind, just so is this portion Vibhūti (glorious power; i.e., the Bhūtiśakti)[12] pushed on only by the Sudarśana (13), progressively at the time of evolution, regressively at the time of dissolution.[14]

Listen to me. I shall explain how the Bhūtiśakti, impelled by the wind of Sudarśana, produces various things [in its development]. First of all, listen to the pure evolution of the Vibhūti (or Bhūtiśakti).[12] (14-5) By means of three pairs of the previously explained[15] six qualities, *jñāna, aiśvarya, bala* and so forth, the pure evolution of the Bhūti (śakti) develops. (16)

Of those [six qualities], from the pair of *jñāna* and *bala,* Hari's from of Saṅkarṣaṇa is said to be produced; from the union of *aiśvarya* and *vīrya,* the form of Pradyumna (17); from the putting together of *śakti* and *tejas,* Hari's body of Aniruddha.[16] These are the Vyūhas, consisting of the Śakti[17] and characterized by the [successive] awakening of the (six) qualities. (18) They are the gods whose bodies consist of the six qualities; they are the Puruṣas whose eyes resemble lotus petals. In the case of each Vyūha, O sage, the four qualities not mentioned (19) are still present in reality, but respectively in a pursuing form. Viṣṇu's state of being four persons[18] arises from combinations of the qualities and does so in three stages: simple pervasion [of the cosmos],[19] the awakening of the (six) qualities,[20] and the making of forms.[21]

Of these [Vyūhas] the god Saṅkarṣaṇa who [also] possesses *bala,* by his possession of *jñāna* (20-1) reveals the definitive path [through scriptural knowledge],[22] which is the means of attaining Bhagavat.[23] The supreme person, as the god Pradyumna, being made of *vīrya* and *aiśvarya* (22), subsists as the meaning of scripture, that is, as the path [itself] for attaining Bhagavat.[24] The fruit of the meaning of scripture is the attaining of Bhagavat (23) and the supreme person, as Aniruddha, causes worshippers to obtain that fruit.[25] These [three gods], who manage respectively the scripture, its meaning, and its fruit[26] (24), are the Puruṣas with lotus-like eyes and the Vyūhas made of Hari's Śakti.[17]

Understand, O sage, that the Bhagavat Vāsudeva and these three Vyūhas form the tetrad, whose essential characteristic is manifest or unmanifest [depending upon its stage of development];[27] it is constituted in the following way.

The (six) qualities made of the Śakti,[17] that is, *jñāna, aiśvarya, bala* and so forth (25-6), awaken simultaneously, losing their immobility. This awakening is caused by the will of Viṣṇu and is characterized by the individuation of the tetrad.[28] (27) [Upon this awakening,] He (i.e., Viṣṇu)[29] becomes the Bhagavat Vāsudeva and the Śakti of the pervasive Viṣṇu becomes the highest Prakṛti, which is the ultimate source of the world.[30] (28) Since a power (*śakti*) must have its possessor,[31] the name Vāsudeva is here given.

When this god Vāsudeva, who possesses the entire Śakti, divides himself by himself[32] out of the desire for creation, he is traditionally known as Saṅkarṣaṇa. Just as, when the sun appears on the eastern mountain, its light spreads everywhere (29-30), just so extends the light of Saṅkarṣaṇa, when the god is in the rising stage. This (light)[33] is the Śakti of Saṅkarṣaṇa, being the embodiment of the ocean of *vijñāna* and *bala*, and stays for 1,600 years without activity.

Viṣṇu is the endless Bhagavat, the supreme Person with His Śakti. (31-2) He is filled with the static six qualities and is like a waveless ocean. Upon the simultaneous wakening of [all] the six qualities, impelled by Himself (33), the same endless Bhagavat becomes[34] Vāsudeva, the eternal. Upon the wakening of *jñāna* and *bala* from among those (six qualities), impelled by His own will (34), the same endless Bhagavat becomes the god Saṅkarṣaṇa, the firm.[35]

The same endless Bhagavat, having stayed for sixteen [hundred] years as the firm god (Saṅkarṣaṇa) with his Śakti, becomes Pradyumna, the supreme person. The Śakti of Pradyumna, which is [also] the light of Bhagavat and has arisen through a very small portion [of Lakṣmī] (35-6), remains in silence for 1,600 years without activity.

Then, the same endless Bhagavat, having stayed for 1,600 years as the god Pradyumna, the supreme person with his Śakti, is impelled by His own will and becomes[36] Aniruddha. (37-8) The Śakti of Aniruddha, which is [also] the light of Hari and has arisen through a very small portion [of Lakṣmī], remains in silence for 1,600 years without activity. (39) Having remained for 1,600 years, this Aniruddha with his Śakti becomes active for creation in cooperation with the preceding two [Vyūhas], O Nārada.

These Vyūhas, the four supreme persons[37] with long eyes, are faultless, without evil, blameless, and eternal. (40-1) This is the endless, immutable tetrad [of Viṣṇu], O great sage. In the waveless stage,[19] the Vyūhas have no [particular and individual] existence and consist of static (i.e., pure) intellect.[38] (42) When the qualities awaken, they are individuated with their own Śaktis.[20] In the gross stages,[21] they assume their manifested forms (43) in order to help the worlds and are characterized by reality, intellect and bliss. This individuation of the tetrad is intended to give a support for the [human] mind [to meditate upon God].[39] (44)

Those who know secret scriptures[40] have traditionally handed down the divisions of this (process of individuation), beginning with the sub-Vyūhas and Vibhavas, which are produced by the will [of Viṣṇu]. (45)

The Sub-Vyūhas are said to be the twelve [gods], beginning with Keśava.[41] Of these (twelve gods), O sage, a triad beginning with Keśava is manifested from Vāsudeva (46); from Saṅkarṣaṇa, a wonderful triad beginning with Govinda; from Pradyumna, a triad beginning with Trivikrama (47); and from Aniruddha, that[42] beginning with Hṛṣīkeśa, O great sage. It is traditionally known that

when these gods of the universe are transcendent, they abide in their cause (i.e., they have no bodies of their own); when in their subtle state they have two arms, and when in their gross state they are four-armed. The arrangement of their weapons, beginning with the discus, will be explained in the section on *yantras*.[43] (48-9)

The Vibhavas (incarnations) are thirty-nine, beginning with Padmanābha: Padmanābha,[44] Dhruva,[45] Ananta (i.e., Baladeva),[46] Śaktyātman, Madhusūdana[47] (50), Vidyādhideva,[48] Kapila,[49] Viśvarūpa,[50] Vihaṃgama (i.e., Haṃsa),[51] Kroḍātman, Baḍabāvaktra,[52] Dharma,[53] Vāgīśvara[54] (51), Ekāṃbhonidhiśāyin,[55] the glorious Kamaṭheśvara (i.e., Kūrma),[56] Varāha,[57] Nārasiṃha,[58] Pīyūṣaharaṇa[59] (52), the glorious god Śrīpati, the nectar-holder Kāntātman,[60] Rāhujit,[61] Kālanemighna,[62] Pārijātahara[63] (53), Lokanātha, Śāntātman,[64] the great saint Dattātreya,[65] the glorious Nyagrodhaśāyin,[66] Ekaśṛṅgatanu (i.e., Matsya)[67] (54), the dwarf god (Vāmana),[68] the all-pervading Trivikrama,[69] Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Kṛṣṇa (55),[70] Rāma, the holder of the shining axe (i.e., Paraśurāma),[71] another Rāma, the bow-holder (i.e., Rāma Candra),[72] the glorious Vedavid (i.e., Vedavyāsa),[73] Kalkin,[74] and Pātālaśayana (56)—these are regarded as the thirty-nine [Vibhavas], beginning with Padmanābha.[75]

The source of their origin, their activities, their weapons (57), their forms, the places to which they are distributed,[76] their ornaments and clothes of many kinds (58), the three groups of their external and internal organs[77] together with their functions, their Śaktis[78] that are produced by the will [of Viṣṇu] and are accessible through their activities—all of these have been explained one by one in the *Sātvata* manual,[79] O great sage. (59)

Thus, a portion of the Bhūti (śakti), that is the pure evolution brought about by Viṣṇu's will, has been briefly explained to you. Now, listen to the other evolution. (60)

REFERENCES

1. Cf. *vyoma-rūpaṃ brahma* (AmṛtabinduUp 13, TejobinduUp 5), *gaganōpama* (Upadeśasahasrī 2.10.1).
2. Cf. LT 22.7.
3. Here *ātman-* implies *ahaṃtā* or *sattā* of Brahman. Cf. AS 3.42-3, 4.72-3.
4. Cf. AS 3.2-3 & 26, 4.75-8; God always possesses the Śakti within Himself, but she cannot be seen or given any name until Her effects, or operation, are observed.
5. Cf. AS 3.26-7.
6. See AS 2.7-9.
7. Cf. AS 3.29ff., and see LT 2.48.
8. See AS 2.59-61.
9. Here *sva-* refers to the Śakti given in vss. 3-6. Cf. AS 3.7.
10. Cf. AS 3.27-9, 8.36, 14.7, 51.72, 57.3, 58.15, 59.55, LT 4.4, BhG 10.42.
11. See AS 6.50-1.
12. Cf. *nānā-bhedavatī bhūter vibhūtiḥ* (AS 14.9); AS 13.18-9, VS 26.41-2, BhG 10.19-42. In AS 58.15, *vibhūti* is a term given to the Bhūtiśakti (also cf. AS 5.13 & 15).
13. Cf. e.g., AS 3.32.
14. Cf. AS 7.71-2, VedS 141.
15. See AS 2.54-62.
16. Cf. LT 2.45ff. & Yp. 84.7ff.
17. The *parā* Śakti, or *mahā-Śakti* (AS 57.3), that is, the *ahaṃtā* or *sattā* of Viṣṇu (AS 4.72-3); otherwise, the Bhūti-śakti (see AS 5.60, 6.6, 7.68).
18. The above three Vyūhas plus Vāsudeva. See AS 5.25-6, LT 2.41.
19. Cf. LT 2.39, VP 1.22.49. This is the stage where the four Vyūhas are harmoniously blended with Brahman or Bhagavat Viṣṇu. See AS 4.68-71, and cf. the epithet *ṣāḍguṇya-vigraha* (AS 5.19-20, 9.32), which is almost exclusively applied to God: for Brahman, see e.g., AS 2.6-7, 57 & 62, 3.1 & 41; for Viṣṇu, see e.g., AS 2.28, 5.32-3; further, cf. PauS 27.174, JS 4.101, AS 53.19 (aśeṣa-bhuvanam...vyāpnoti), 55.29 (sarvato-mukha), LT 2.36, 4.48 (*bhagavattva = pūrṇa-ṣāḍguṇya-rūpatva*, cf. AS 53.2-3), 13.19, *et passim*, ĪS 4.99, VP 6.5.74 & 79, SDS 4.238-9, Śaṅkara on *Brahma-s* 2.2.44 (p. 496.2-4). Also cf. the refrain, *ananta eva bhagavān*, in what follows, vss. AS 5.32, 34, 35, 36 & 38. This

stage is equivalent to the *nistaraṅga-daśā* (AS 5.42), where the four Vyūhas have no individual existence and consist only of *cid-ghana*. Cf. AS 2.56-7 & 62, 2.23 (*brahma ataraṅgārṇavōpamam*), 5.20 (vyāpti-mātra), 5.33 (*viṣṇuḥ ... pūrṇa-sthimita-ṣāḍguṇyo nistaraṅgārṇavōpamaḥ*, also LT 6.1 & 15), 5.42 (nistaraṅga-daśā). From this stage the second stage arises. See AS 5.32ff.

20. Cf. AS 5. 26-44, LT 2.39, 7.5-9. In this stage, the four Vyūhas are individuated with their own Śaktis. See AS 5.43 (guṇonmeśa-daśā).

21. This stage is also called *sthūla-daśā* (AS 5.43, SanatkS Indra 6.29), where the four Vyūhas have their individual forms or images for the sake of their worshippers. Also cf. AS 5.48-9, LT 2.39, SS 5.9-21, VS 6.65-7. For the worship of the Vyūhas, see SS 2.2-12, AS 6.6-7, PMS 8.53 & 177, 15.691-2, ĪS 3.158-9, 24.78ff., ŚBh on 2.2.41 (p. 697.6-7), SDS 4.256. In this stage they produce the twelve Sub-Vyūhas (AS 5.45-9). The Vyūhas are quite frequently referred to as the four *mūrtis* (e.g., MBh 12.326.43, H 2.121.116, PauS 36.126 & 144, SanatkS Indra 6.1, 26 & 29, PS 2.52-3, VS 3.4, 5.52 & 53, 17.70, PMS 8.53, ĪS 7.29, 8.54, Ratnaprabhā p. 494.7). Similarly, the Sub-Vyūhas are called the *mūrtis* (SS 8.46ff., AS 36.61, SanatkS Indra 6.33, PS 2.52-3, cf. AS 26.32), and also the *mūrty-antaras*, which appellation corresponds to their name vyūhāntara (e.g., PauS 25.2, 36.144 & 279, PMS 1.100, TT p. 133, Varavara's comm. on it, p. 134.18, p. 136.14).

22. Also simply *ekānta* (MBh 12.326.96 & 116, PS 10.22, 30.37 & 67, 31.3, 32 & 34), *ekānta-dharma* (MBh 12.336.4, 69 & 76, BṛhadbrahmaS 2.7.69), or *ekānta-gati* (MBh 12.336.6 & 79), all of which mean *pañcarātra* (MBh 12.336.76). It is the means of attaining Bhagavat (PS 31.32 & 34), and its followers (*ekāntinaḥ ananya-devatāḥ*, MBh 12.328.30; *devatāntaraśūnyāḥ*, Yp. 77.12-7; *parama-puruṣam evāśritāḥ*, Āg p. 71.3; also cf. MBh 12.331.50-1 & No. 888 on p. 1930 of the Cr.Ed. XII-III-B, PS 31.30-1, PMS 1.85) can either see (MBh 12.323.49, 326.12 & 96) or enter into Viṣṇu (MBh 12.321.42, 326.44 & 116-7, 332.18, 336.3-4 & 61, 337.67), and stay in the highest heaven (VP 1.6.38, LT 17.17). The inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa are also *ekāntins* (MBh 12.323.24, 26 & 42, 326.19 & 116). For *ekāntin* as the best of four kinds of *bhaktas*, see MBh 12.328.30; also cf. JS 22.11-3, VS 2.32-3, BhG 7.16-7. For the definition or characteristics of *ekāntin* and

paramāikāntin, see Y p. 77.12-7, PRR pp. 139-41. There were seven *ācāryas* who promulgated the *ekānti-dharma*: Sana, Sanatsujāta, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra, Kapila, and Sanātana (PMS 1.59-60, ĪS 1.29-30); also see MBh 12.327.64-6, mokṣa-dharma-pravartakāḥ, and cf. the seven Citraśikhaṇḍins in MBh 12.322.26 through 323.4. It is said that no *aikāntika hita* can be found in the other sacred texts (e.g., JS 1.9-11 & 13-18, PS 1.5, 3.31, PMS 1.9, ĪS 21.528, AnirS 1.13-4, BhG 11.48). Probably the same sectarian devotion is designated as *ekāyana*, in the *Sātvata* chps. 24 & 25 (24.287ff., 25.53ff.) and *PauS* (see below) and also in the later Saṃhitās. See e.g., PMS 1.32-6, 1.53-8, ĪS 1.43, 11.231 (*ekāyanī śruti*), 21.515 & 531-40, ŚPS 2.38-9, BhP 10.2.27. It is said to have belonged to an ancient Vedic school, "vājasaneyakāikāyana-śākhā" (Āg pp. 69.10-2, 70.2, 85.7-8, 15-7 & 18), "śuklayajuḥ-śākhā ... ekāyanī" (see Intro. to the *LT* edition, p. 6: quoted from the *Kāṇvaśākhāmahimasaṅgraha* by Nāgeśa), or "kāṇvī śākhā" (ĪS 21.558, JS 1 Adhika 109 & 116); cf. *ekāyanīya-śākhōtthān mantrān parama-pāvanān pāṭhayet* (JS 20.269). In the *Pauṣkara*, the word *ekāyana* refers to either a *mantra* (27.210, 42.147, 188 & 190) or a group of Brahmins (36.260, 42.12, 125 & 179) who were *bhakta* or *ekāntin* (36.259-61). If this *ekāyana* school really belonged to the *Yajurveda*, it must be of special significance in the early history of Vaiṣṇavism that Nārāyaṇa appears almost exclusively in the ancient Yajurvedic texts. For the word *ekāyana*, also cf. ŚatBr. 14.5.4.11, 14.7.3.12, BAUp 2.4.11, 4.5.12, ChUp 7.1.2 & 4, 2.1, 4.2, 5.2, PadmaT 1.18; Weber, *Indische Studien*, Vol. I, pp. 267 & 484; Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. 1, p. 414; Dasgupta, *HIPh*, Vol. 3, p. 21; Gonda, *MRL*, p. 50.

23. For this function of Saṅkarṣaṇa, cf. MBh 6.62.39-40, JS 31.21, AS 2.4, 21.17, 52.72-3, 55.16 & 36-7, 59.23 & 28, LT 2.57, 4.17 & 20, PS 2.100d, PMS 1.56 & 86, ĪS 1.40 & 52, 21.546-50, Bṛhad-brahmaS 2.7.69, TT p. 125.

24. For this function of Pradyumna, cf. PauS 39.27, JS 31.30, AS 11.18-9, 21.17, 55.16 & 18, LT 2.57, 4.18 & 20, PS 2.101a, SanatkS Indra 3.58-62, TT p. 126.

25. For this function of Aniruddha, cf. AS 21.17, 59.34. Also cf. MBh 12.331.14, 328.14, JS 31.36-8, PS 2.101b. In AS 53.68, *aniruddhatva = bhagavattva*; cf. AS 55.22, 59.36, LT 2.57, 4.18 & 20.

26. Cf. AS 10.13-4, LT *ibid.*
27. See AS 4.70-2 and Note 19 above.
28. Here *tad-* must refer to *cāturātmya* in 5.26. See AS 5.43.
29. Here the pronoun *saḥ* refers to Viṣṇu in the preceding verse. See AS 5.32cd-34ab.
30. Cf. PauS 33.74, AS 3.16.
31. Cf. AS 6.3.
32. Cf. MBh 6.61.64-6, AS 52.76-84 (*vyūha-tādātmya*). Also cf. PauS 20.65-6, SS 4.31-4, 5.96-107, 12.169-76, LT 10.18, ĪS 24.88.
33. Note that both *prabhā* and *śakti* are feminine nouns. Also cf. AS 5.36 & 39, JS 13.105-6. For Śakti as a goddess, see *supra* Note 1.11 (end).
34. Supply *bhavati* as in AS 5.38, and cf. AS 52.77-84. Also see LT 4.8-13 & 25.
35. See *supra* Note 4.37.
36. Also see MBh 12.326.69.
37. Cf. LT 6.15.
38. This is, *jñāna* as the *para rūpa* of Brahman (AS 2.56-7 & 62). Here *sakta-cit* probably indicates a characteristic of Brahman, *cid-ghana* and so forth, for which see our Chapter III Note 54. This *sakta-cit* may be contrasted with (active) *cit* in *sac-cid-ānanda*, a characteristic of the Vyūhas when they are in the third gross stage (AS 5.43-4); for in the first waveless stage, they are said to be *niḥsattāḥ* (AS 5.42).
39. Cf. *dhyāna-viśrama-bhūmi* (LT 4.24), MBh 12.326.37 & 66, 331.14, MārkP 4.44-7, ŚBh on 2.2.41.
40. *Rahasyāmnāya* is also a name given to the *ādya ekāyana veda*. See PMS 1.17, ĪS 21.531.
41. The usual set of four triads is as follows:
    1. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava
    2. Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana
    3. Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara
    4. Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara

    Cf. SS 8.47-125, PauS 30.31, 36.126, 146-68 & 185-90, PS 2.79ff., LT 4.27-8, 11.29-30, TT p. 133 and Varavara's comm. on it (p. 134.8-18), Baudhāyana Dharma-Sūtra and -Śāstra 2.5.9.10, Rigvidhāna 3.27.1ff. (see Kane, *HDhŚ*, Vol. 2, pp. 653 & 728). They are said to be the *māsēśas* (SS 8.48, PauS 31.115), or the *māsādhipas* (PauS 7.111-2, PS 2.83-6, SanatkS Indra 6.33). Also cf. Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 41-2. For their Śaktis, see PS 2.81, LT 11.31, 20.35-6, ĪS 7.32-3.
42. I prefer the reading of the First Edition (1916), *tad-vat*, which is also given in the quotation of Varavara in his commentary on the *Tattvatraya* (p. 134.15).
43. See AS 26.32-46. Cf. PauS 36.146-68, ŚPS 23.284-9.
44. Cf. PauS 36.338-40.
45. Cf. H 1.2.9ff., VP 2.9.1ff., VDhUP 1.106ff., BhP 4.8-9; LT 8.47 (*kevalāvatāra*).
46. Cf. AS 56.7 (*tāla-lakṣman*), MBh 12.326.68, JS 2.15.
47. Cf. AS 56.30-1, MBh 6.63.13.
48. See *supra* Note I.43.
49. See *supra* Note II.51. Also cf. PauS 36.223.
50. Cf. PauS 36.210-3, AS 56.16-7, MBh 12.326.1-9, H 2.88.14 & 22, BhG 11, Dūtavākya 1.39.4.
51. Cf. MBh 12.326.94, AS 56.26, H 3.10.35 & 68-9, 33.19, VDhUP 1.180.8, 190.19, 3.118.7, 119. Also cf. Abegg, *Messiasglaube*, pp. 41 & 70.
52. *Q.v.*, Vaḍavā-mukha & cf. AS 56.18 (*auruva jalāśana*), MBh 12.325.4.79.
53. Cf. PauS 36.207-9.
54. See Banerjea, *Development*, p. 392; Dasgupta, *HIPh*, Vol. 4, p. 40, note.
55. H 3.9.19, VP 1.3.24, 1.4.7 & 16, 6.4.4. In H 2.26.54, the *ekārṇavēśvara* = Śeṣa.
56. Cf. AS 56.8, ĪS 3.149, 10.37, ŚPS 21.35 (*kūrmaḥ pātāla-dhārakaḥ*). See K. Ruping, *Amṛtamanthana und Kūrma-Avatāra*, Wiesbaden, 1970; Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 85-6. Cf. ŚatBr 7.5.1.5, BhP 8.7.
57. Cf. MBh 12.326.72-3, BhP 3.13; cp. ŚatBr 14.1.2.11 & TA 1.10.8.
58. Cf. MBh 12.326.73, BhP 7.2-10; P. Hacker, *Prahlāda*, and Gonda, *VŚ*, pp. 104-7.
59. Or Amṛtāharaṇa (AS 56.11, ŚPS 21.36). Cf. H 2.121.106. According to PauS 36.215, this is a secondary Avatāra.
60. Cf. PauS 36.345, AS 56.3.
61. A secondary Avatāra (PauS 36.216).
62. See *supra* Note I.47. Cf. PauS 36.220.
63. Cf. VP 5.30.53-6.
64. Cf. SS 2.67, 23.85, 29.112, AS 33.17, LT 8.46, PauS 36.226:
    lokēśvaraś śānta-tanur bauddhaṃ yasyāparaṃ viduḥ /
    niryantā buddhi-dharmāṇāṃ hiṃsā-doṣasya dūṣakaḥ //

See Schrader, *Intro.*, p. 46; Hazra, *Records*, p. 86; Dasgupta, *ibid.*; Banerjea, *ibid.* Also cf. AP 49.8 (*śāntātman* = Buddha, NS 5.78), BṛhatS 59.19 (*śānta-manas*); for *praśānta-manas* as Buddha, see Hazra, *UpaP*, Vol. 1, p. 144. For Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu, see Bhandarkar, *VŚ*, p. 46; Sircar, "Early History," p. 133 (before A.D. 700); Hazra, *Records*, pp. 41-2 (since A.D. 500); Hohenberger, *Flutsage*, p. 124, note 3; Banerjea, *Develoment*, p. 425; Muir, *OST*, Vol. 4, p. 198; Raychaudhuri, *Materials*, pp. 123-4. Cf. AP 16.1-3, MP 47.247, BhP 1.3.24, 11.4.22, MBh 12 (Cr.Ed., XII-III-B, Appendix I, No. 31, p. 2104.1-23). Buddha is not mentioned in the lists of Avatāras given in JS 2.11-8, PMS 2.11-3, VS 17.57-8; evidently, he is not an important member among the Avatāras of the Pāñcarātra.

65. Cf. H 1.41.104-11, VP 4.11.3, Raghuv 6.39.
66. Cf. PauS 36.341-2, ŚPS 2.17-9. See Bhandarkar, *VŚ*, p. 32; Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols*, pp. 35ff.
67. Cf. AS 56.34-5 (*mīna*), NāradaPR 4.3.57 (*matsya-devo mahāśṛṅgaḥ*), AP 2.15 (*ekaśṛṅga-dharo matsyaḥ*), BhP 8.24, Nandapaṇḍita on *Viṣṇu-smṛti* 98.78. Also see A. P. Karmarkar, "The Matsyāvatāra of Viṣṇu," *A Volume of Study in Indology*. pp. 253ff. MBh 12.330.27 mentions *ekaśṛṅga varāha*. Cp. ŚatBr 1.8.1.1-10 & MBh 3.185.
68. MBh 12.326.74-6. Cf. Macdonell, *JRAS*, 1895, pp. 165-89; Crooke, *Popular Religion*, Vol. 2, pp. 211 & 216ff.; B. N. Sharma, "Vāmana and Viṣṇu," *Purāṇa*, 8 No. 2, 1966, pp. 246-8; Tripathi, *Vāmana-Legende*, Wiesbaden, 1968. Also see ŚatBr 1.2.5.5 & BhP 8.15-23.
69. A mythical motif from, e.g., RV 1.22.16-8; 1.154.1-6; 7.100.3-4.
70. These four are specifically referred to as *prādur-bhāvōttaraṃ vibhoḥ* in PauS 36.207-9. For Kṛṣṇa as a *prādurbhāva*, see MBh 12.236.82ff. Cf. AS 1.64.
71. Cf. MBh 12.326.77, PauS 36.198, H 1.34.44-5, 49.12f., 52.46-8, 2.39.21-34, 59.15, 3.82.14-6, VP 4.4.42, 7.16, 11.7, VDhUP 1.23ff., Veṇ 2.2, MBh 2.116, 12.49, R 1.74-6, BhP 9.15-6. Also cf. K. M. Munshi, "The Historical Value of the Parasurama Tradition," *NIA*, 6, 1944, pp. 217-24; M. Biardeau, "La décapitation de Reṇukā dans le mythe de Paraśurāma," *Pratidanam*, pp. 563-72.
72. Cf. PauS 36.203: *rāmo 'paraḥ kṣatra-janmā bhrātrā bhedais tribhis saha* //. MBh 12.326.78-81, AS 36.64-5, BhP 9.10-12.

73. See *supra* Note I.54.
74. Cf. PauS 36.206; MBh 3.188.85-93, BhP 12.2. See Abegg, *Messiasglaube*, pp. 46-71.
75. For another list of 38 Avatāras, beginning with Padmanābha, see SS 9.77-83, ĪS 3.147-56, 7.33-7, 10.33-44, LT 11.19-25, 20.37-44, ŚPS 21.33-41. Y mentions thirty-six, for Kapila, Dattātreya, and Paraśurāma are the *āveśāvatāras* (p. 86.7ff.); TT mentions twenty-six *pradhāna-bhūtāḥ* (p. 133, cf. Varavara's comm. p. 134.21ff.). Also cf. an elaborate enumeration in PauS 36.317-72. P. Hacker, "Avatāralehre," *WZKSO* 1960, pp. 47-70. LT 4.30 mentions Vibhavāntara as well as Vibhavas (*Ibid* 29).
76. Cf. PauS 36.303-95, ĪS 20.18-110.
77. *Viz.*, the two groups of external [*jñāna-* & *karma-indriyas*] and one group of internal [*manas, buddhi* & *ahaṅkāra*; or *citta*). See LT 5.77cd-78ab, 6.43, 7.30. For antaḥkaraṇa, cf. *supra* Note IV.25.
78. See *supra* Note I.11 (end).
79. Cf. SS 9.4-106, 12.1-167. Also cf. Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 42-9.

CHAPTER SIX

EXPLANATION OF THE IMPURE EVOLUTION (I)

Ahirbudhnya

Nārāyaṇa is God, the supreme Self, the Eternal. He possesses the Śakti,[1] which is identical with His I-ness[2] and is related to Him as a property to its possessor.[3] (1) In the scriptures these two have been stated to be one,[4] and have also been stated to be separate causes of the world by their being in a relation of divider and divided.[5] (2) Without the help of Śakti, an entity how so powerful it may be can never be an efficient cause, and without an entity which holds power, Śakti by itself cannot subsist.[6] (3) Regarding the importance of both, those who are learned in the sacred texts and the Upaniṣads have pointed out, as it were, both Gods separately as the cause of the world.[7] (4) Now that all this has been made clear, listen to the evolution left untold.

[Viṣṇu's Śakti has two vibrations. Of these] the vibration in the form of Bhūti (śakti), which we have described,[8] is caused to dance in many ways by the Śakti's vibration in the form of will.[9] The pure vibration of the Bhūti (śakti) consists of the Vyūhas and Vibhavas (5-6), clinging to which yogins cross the ocean of worldly existence. Then the impure evolution develops further out of that pure evolution. (7)

The impure Bhūti (śakti) of Viṣṇu is said to be threefold: Puruṣa, Kāla (Time), and Guṇa. Puruṣa is made of four couples (8), being the aggregate of the *manu*s, who are divided into Brahmin, Kṣatriya and so forth. The two *manu*s who form the couple of Brahmin and his wife (9) are impelled by [Viṣṇu's] own will and born from Pradyumna's mouth; the Kṣatriya couple, from his breast; the Vaiśya couple, from his thighs (10); and the Śūdra couple is born from Pradyumna's feet.[10] The aggregate of these *manu*s is the Puruṣa consisting of the four couples. (11)

Being urged by Sudarśana, there appear as [successive] stages [of the Bhūtiśakti] the subtle one,[11] Time, and [the three] Guṇas,[12] from the forehead,[13] eye-brows, and ears of Pradyumna. (12) Both the Puruṣa, sentient by nature, and the Śakti,[14] insentient by nature, are offered by Pradyumna to Aniruddha with the words "Develop these." (13) Taking that Śakti with the Puruṣa enclosed within it[15] into his own form, Aniruddha[16] rightly develops it by means of his own *tejas*.[17] (14)

Śakti, impelled by the will, [first] appears from Aniruddha as twofold: Niyati and Time. This is its body made of Kāla. (15) The Śakti is said to have another form made of Guṇas, which appears as threefold, in this order: Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas. (16) From Sattva appears Rajas;

from this, Tamas; from Tamas, Buddhi (or Mahat);[18] from Buddhi, Ahaṅkṛiti (or Ahaṅkāra);[19] from this, the five Tanmātras (rudimentary conditions) of the [gross] elements[20] (17) as well as the eleven organs; from the (five) Tanmātras, the five [gross] elements; from these elements, all material things. This is a summary of the [impure] evolution. (18)

Nārada

Glorious One, Destroyer of the eyes of the demon Bhaga, Ocean of true knowledge, now explain to me in detail the wonderful awakening of the Bhūtiśakti. (19)

Ahirbudhnya

Listen truly, Nārada, to the manifold development of the Bhūti (śakti), that is brought about by Viṣṇu's will and is filled with sentient and insentient groups. (20)

As explained before,[21] the pure evolution develops the Vyūhas and so forth. Its flaming light of knowledge and bliss is, through the will called Sudarśana, collected into a mass and becomes a place.[22] This is the highest heaven, stainless, higher than Puruṣa [*manu*s] (21-2), without fault or mixture [of impurity], a place where the continuum of happiness is endless.[23] There enjoyments are blissful, and the worlds[24] are characterized by bliss. (23) [There dwell] the released, who have attained the Self and whose bodies are made of knowledge and bliss. The gods always see Puruṣa of lotus-like eyes[25] [Nārāyaṇa] (24), who is God with body consisting of the six qualities and accompanied by Śrī of similar body.[26] He accomplishes the full expansion of bodies and things belonging to them through His will.[27] (25) He is the Lord of all, Master of animate and inanimate, the abode of all and yet without abode,[28] Nārāyaṇa, the diseaseless.[29] (26)

On reaching that place, those who know truth are released, being free from sins. They are the size of an atomic triad and are adorned with [haloes of] countless rays[30] (27); they are without opposite properties of appearing and disappearing.[31] As they have reached Viṣṇu's place, the furthest end of the [worldly] journey[32] (28), they will never [again] enter[33] the path that is troubled by the waves of time. Those who live in the highest heaven will see the same form [of God] to which they have paid devotion during their worldly existence. Passing through a long period, wherein cosmic dissolution takes place over and over again (29-30), they [finally] enter the divine glory of Viṣṇu, which consists in His six qualities.[34] Such is the highest heaven, of which we have described only the smallest particle. (31) Its full extent cannot be described even in ten thousand years.

Puruṣa has been explained to you as the authority of activities [for the sake of Hari][35] and as consisting of the four couples [of *manu*s][36] (32), who stands in a place lower[37] than the highest heaven. What is traditionally known as Puruṣa[38] is the aggregate of all selves, a honeycomb of bees[39] as it were, and is the condition of the Bhūti (śakti) which contains both pure and impure. The Puruṣa is the collection of selves dulled by the dust of beginningless predisposition. (33-4) Although those [selves] are portions[40] of the Bhūti (śakti) of their Ātman (self; i.e., Puruṣa)[41] and are [originally] omniscient with their faces everywhere, those (selves) are completely pierced and controlled by painful nescience[42] in degrees of mild, severe, and so forth, produced by the (great) Śakti also belonging to Bhagavat, imitating each and every wink of Sudarśana. (35-6) The selves form a tetrad, consisting of the conditions of Brahmin, Kṣatriya, and so forth, in

accordance with their division into Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras.[43] (37) These selves are technically known as *jīva*,[44] and go to bondage or release.[45]

As already stated,[46] the highest aggregates of those selves are *manu*s by name. (38) They are never touched by pain or by predispositions[47] and are omniscient, facing in all directions, for they are eternally perfected portions of the Bhūti (śakti) and are said to be made of Bhagavat.[48] (39) By appearing [at the time of evolution] and disappearing [at the time of dissolution],[49] they move themselves within their own self (i.e., Puruṣa) as the authorities of Viṣṇu, O Nārada. (40) After staying in the place of Puruṣa, they descend through Viṣṇu's will from one place to another down to earth, conjointly with their [eight] parts.[50] (41) When the land of actions[51] is created they copulate to give birth to four hundred *mānava*s; then in turn, these, to *mānavamānava*s (42), who are numberless and constitute all [human beings].[52] The details of this will be given below.

In a place lower than that Puruṣa which consists of the four couples (43), Śakti (i.e., Kāla plus Prakṛti)[14] is next produced from Aniruddha, impelled by Sudarśana.[53] When Śakti is produced, O great sage, the eight *manu*s (44), impelled by Viṣṇu's will, descend from their own place [in the Puruṣa] and stay as an embryo in the place of Śakti. (45) There in her womb lies a pair, Kāla and Guṇa by name.

The subtle element of Kāla, Niyati (Regulation) by name, is the controller of everything (*sarva-niyāmaka*).[11] (46) It appears first from Śakti, impelled by Viṣṇu's will. The *manu*s are [also] impelled by Sudarśana and descend into Niyati. (47) [Consequently,] whatever form one may have, whatever act one may do, whatever true

nature one may have—each and every one of these lies in the might of Sudarśana and is brought about by the regulating power (*niyama-bhāvita*) [of this subtle Kāla]. (48)

[The second aspect] of Kāla, its ripening[54] form, is what drives [everything on] (*kalanātmaka*).[55] This Driver or Time (*kāla*) then arises from Niyati, urged on by the will. (49) The *manu*s also descend from Niyati into Time. Time is the one force that drives [everything] on (*kalayatī*), being impelled by Viṣṇu's will. (50) It drives on everything [making it] subject to time, just as a stream does the bank of a river.

The [other] form of Śakti that consists of the (three) Guṇas, has been mentioned above.[56] (51) This Guṇa body is manifested step by step from Time.

Of these (three Guṇas), Sattva, which is the light, pure and healthy form of Guṇa (52), is the first to be manifested from Time. The *manu*s descend into it. Then, impelled by [Viṣṇu's] own will, a form of Aniruddha (53), to which form is given the very name Viṣṇu, takes control of that Sattva.[57] Thus did Sattva become complete, pure, happy, without mixture, (54) and governed by Viṣṇu, O sage, containing within itself both the *manu*s and that which is insentient.[58]

Next, from Sattva impelled by Viṣṇu's will appears a Guṇa, Rajas by name. The *manu*s, [also] impelled by the will, descend from Sattva into Rajas. (55-6) Then again Brahmā, a form of Aniruddha, takes control of that Guṇa.[57] This Rajas is tremulous, painful, and constantly active. (57) Then this universe is moving to and fro within it.[59]

From that (Rajas) governed by Brahmā and with the *manu*s within it, O sage (58), arises a Guṇa, Tamas by

name, impelled by Viṣṇu's will. The *manu*s are [also] impelled by Sudarśana and descend into it. (59) And again, a form[60] of Aniruddha, Rudra by name, takes control of that Guṇa.[61] Heavy, obstructing, constantly stupefying and inactive (60)—in these words Tamas has been described by those who have crossed over the ocean of Guṇas.

Within this very [Tamas] impelled to creation by Hari's will, Sudarśana (61), the other two Guṇas (i.e., Sattva and Rajas), in their totality, keep up an equilibrium of their parts,[62] [also] impelled by Viṣṇu's will. (62) Thereupon Tamas[63] is termed *traiguṇya* (a composite of the three Guṇas) by those who know the truth. *Guṇa-sāmya, avidyā*,[64] *svabhāva*,[65] *yoni, akṣara*,[66] *ayoni, guṇa-yoni*—these and others are the words designating the Traiguṇya.[67] (63)

REFERENCES

1. Cf. AS 4.77.
2. See *supra* Note III.33.
3. This compound *tad-dharma-dharmiṇī* is a curious abbreviation. It seems to mean *tan-nirūpita-dharma-dharmi-saṃbandhavatī*. See AS 3.25 (*dharma-dharmi-svabhāvataḥ*). Cf. JS 3.18, 4.3.
4. Cf. AS 3.26, 4.77-8.
5. Cf. AS 3.25.
6. Cf. AS 36.56-7, LT 2.18-9, VS 3.75.
7. Cf. LT 8.8-11, 15.10.
8. Cf. AS 3.6 & 29-37.
9. AS 5.6-7 & 13-4. Cf. VAS 78 (end): all the universe, *cit* and *acit*, is created through His will.
10. Cf. RV 10.90.12, AV 19.6.6, VājS 31.11, TS 7.1.1.4-6, TA 3.12-3, PañcaviṃśaBr 6.1.6-11, Vasiṣṭha DhS 4.1-3, MBh 6.63.15, H 3.88.36-7, VP 1.6.3-6, 1.12.63-4, Manu 1.31 & 92-101, AS 10.47, 15.3-5 & 20, VS 3.36-7, 17.41, TT p. 126, VișvaksenaS quoted in Varavara's comm. Cf. AS 4.59-60, GP 1.4.34. Also see Muir, *OST*,

Vol. 1, pp. 21-2. Usually Kṣatriya arises from Puruṣa's arms, except in VP 1.6.4.

11. I.e., Niyati. See AS 6.46, 9.24, 53.9-11, and *supra* Note IV.29.
12. See AS 6.51ff.
13. Cf. e.g., *niyati-likhita-lekhā* (DK p. 92.7-8).
14. This Śakti includes Niyati, Kāla and Guṇas within itself; hence it should be distinguished from the great Śakti, which is the goddess Lakṣmī. See AS 4.51-2, 6.12 & 44 ff., 15.6.
15. Cf. VP 2.7.28, MaitriUp 6.10 (*puruṣaś cetā pradhānāntaḥ-sthaḥ*).
16. Cf. TT p. 127 (*aniruddhaḥ ... kāla-sṛṣṭer miśra-sṛṣṭeś ca nirvāhakaḥ*).
17. See AS 2.61, 5.18.
18. See AS 7.7-9, and Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 71-5. Cf. AS 4.30-3.
19. See AS 7.16 & LT 5.35. Cf AS 4.26-31.
20. See AS 30.7 (*bhūta-sūkṣmāṇi*), TT p. 61 (*tanmātrāṇi bhūtānāṃ sūkṣmāvasthāḥ*), Yp. 40.4-5 (*bhūtānām avyavahita-sūkṣmāvasthā-viśiṣṭaṃ dravyaṃ tanmātram /*). Cf. TK on SK 38 (p. 272), LT 5.38-48, esp. 42 (mātrāṇi sūkṣma-bhūtāni) & 79, 12.43.
21. See AS 5.15-59.
22. Cf. LT 7.10, 17.9.
23. Cf. RV 1.22.20-1, 1.154.5-6. VP 2.8.93ff., LT 17.9-22, Yp. 52, p. 53.4ff., TT p. 41, SDS 4.264-6 & 271-2. Later in Śrīvaiṣṇava, heaven is called *nitya-(vi)bhūti*, where the city Vaikuṇṭha is. See Tattvamuktākalāpa 1.6, SDS 4.212, Abhyankara's comm. on it p. 112; Yp. 50.15, p. 55.7ff., p. 77 last line, p. 83 end through p. 84.3; AS 55.43, H 2.71.28, cf. N on MBh 12.342.80, on H 1.42.1 and 1.48.9. Also see *supra* Note 1.17 and Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 49-59. For *ānanda*, cf. BAUp 4.3.9-10 & 32-3, Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā* on NārāyaṇaUp 5 (ed. by Jacob, p. 52).
24. See SanatkS Indra 7.1ff., VDhUP 1.5, Yp. 53.1 (*ānandāvahatvād ānanda-nāmikāḥ*).
25. Cf. AS 9.30, VS 2.53; and also JS 10.24, PS 2.29 & 107, 26.81-2.
26. Cf. AS 49.55, LT 4.1-2, 7.9-10, 17.30-7, ĪS 20.183, VP 1.8.39.
27. Cf. Yp. 53.8-9.
28. Cf. BhG 9.4-5.
29. Cf. LT 17.22-30, Yp. 83.20 through p. 84.6.
30. Cf. LT 17.15-22, and the *siddhas* in Śvetadvīpa (MBh 12.322.9-12, 323.24-6, 326.18-9, PS 1.22-4).

31. Cf. AS 6.40: the *manus* still have these two properties. Also see JS 3.27-8.
32. Cf. AS 2.24, Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā* on NārāyaṇaUp 2 (ed. by Jacob, p. 50).
33. Cf. ChUp 8.15, BhG 4.9, 8.21, 15.4 & 6, H 3.17.69, VP 1.7.45, 1.22.53, PauS 13.13, VS 30.78, Brahma-s 4.4.22, SDS 4.264-6 & 271-2.
34. Cf. BhG 7.19, AS 36.40, SDS 4.310-1. Also see PS 1.69, 12.65 (there is no difference between *muktas* and God), BhG 14.2, and a quotation in the *Bhāmatī* on Brahma-s 1.4.21.
35. Cf. AS 4.57, 6.40, 7.37.
36. See AS 6.8-11.
37. See AS 6.22, 7.58 & 70, 10.19, LT 16.19.
38. Cf. BAUp 3.9.10ff., MBh 12.338.2-25, 339.9-10, VS 4.11, SK 18.
39. Cf. ChUp 6.9.1, AS 9.27-9.
40. I.e., the pure portions, to which the Vyūhas and Vibhavas belong. Cf. AS 6.39, 5.60, 7.59, LT 12.1, 16.14.
41. See AS 6.40 & 7.48.
42. This is the fourth of God's Śakti, the *nigraha-śakti* (AS 14.14-28). Also cf. AS 7.61-2, 45.3-4, LT 3.16-9 & 33, 7.24-7, 12.15-20, 13.38, VP 2.7.30 & 61-2, 5.7.61-3, SDS 4.195, KaUp 2.5, MuUp 1.2.8, ŚvetUP 5.1, MaitriUp 7.9. It is also called *māyā* (AS 14.17, 38.13, PS 1.82, VS 1.8, 3.2, VP 5.17.15, 30.15), and produces *abhimāna* (LT 3.17, PS 2.61, VP 5.30.14-5, 6.7.11, SarvaUp 1). For *māyā*, also see *supra* Note IV. 30.
43. AS 6.8-11. Cf. LT 7.19 & 24.
44. They are individual selves originally consisting of sentience : e.g., *cid-ghana*, LT 16.14; *śuddhā cit-śakti*, LT 12.1, 18 & 45, 14.57, 16.13; *cid-ātmaka*, JS 3.17 & 22; *cid-rūpa*, PS 2.61; *cid-aṃśa*, AS 59.26; *caitanya*, JS 10.58; *jñāna-svarūpam ity etāvad eva nirdeśyaḥ*, VAS 5; *avagati-mat*, SDS 4.211; in Jaina, *caitanya* (SDS 3.212), *cetanā-lakṣaṇa* (SDS 3.425). But they are naturally *anādy-avidyā-viddha* (LT 3.33; cf. VAS 4, VP 6.7.61-3), or *anādi-vāsanā-yukta* (JS 3.17, 4.10 & 51; *māyā-maya jīva*, BhP 11.24.27). For this process, see AS 38.14-6, VP 6.7.12-6, and cf. Note 42 above. They include *devādyāḥ sthāvarāntimāḥ* (LT 6.29-30, cf. VAS 4), or *brahmādi-kīṭa-patagāvadhayaḥ* (BS 5.62). Also cf. AS 7.55-9. They are given subtle bodies (*sūkṣma-deha*, LT 5.80, VS 4.37) made out of the five Tanmātras (PS 2.29-34 & 50-1, VS 4.4-5 & 33, 15.22; cf. LT 12.42-3, VS 10.73-4), in contrast with the

gross physical bodies (*sthūla-deha* or *śarīra*), which are made out of the five Mahābhūtas. Their subtle bodies are also termed *liṅga*(-*śarīra*) (LT 12.42-6; cf. BAUp 4.4.6, MaitriUp 6.10 & 19, SarvaUp 2 end, SK 20 & 52, SPBh on 3.9-16), and will disappear when they attain *mokṣa* (LT 5.80, 12.56-7 & 45-6, SK 40-2 & 55). That is why they are said to have *utpatti*. See Harṣacarita 7 (p. 235.4), PS 2.18-9, Āg p. 27.12, ŚBh on 2.2.42 (P. 698.13); but cf. Brahma-s 2.1.35 & 2.3.18. For *jīva's guṇas*, see Yp. 59.8 through p. 60.4. For its *svarūpa*, see LT 13.37-8, VAS 5, SDS 4.194-8. Also cf. AS 54.53, VP 6.7.22, VAS 78-9. Sometimes the Puruṣa itself is called *jīva* (AS 14.16, LT 16.13-5).

45. See AS 14.10-1 & 15-41, 59.25-8. Cf. MBh 12.339.15, ŚvetUp 5.9, LT 12.45-6.
46. Cf. AS 6.8-11.
47. For *āśaya* as *vāsanā*, see LT 12.32ff.
48. Cf. AS 4.28, 14.6, BhG 15.7.
49. Cf. LT 7.11-2.
50. Cf. *ibid.*, VS 10.73-4.
51. That is, Bharata-varṣa or Jambū-dvīpa. See H 1.51.24, VP 2.3.2, 5, 20, 22 & 25, 2.7.11, Nītiśataka 100. Also see Agrawala, *MatsyaP*, pp. 190-1.
52. Cf. AS 7.46-54, LT 5.83, ViṣvaksenaS quoted in Varavara's comm. on the *TT* (p. 126.19ff.).
53. Or rather *sudarśana-pracoditā*. Cf. AS 6.10, 45, 47, 49 & 50.
54. Read *pācanam* for *pāvanam*. The first aspect of Kāla is Niyati, the power of regulating (*niyama*) our fate. The second aspect is its power of forcing us to undergo a continuity of experience. It ripens us (*pācaka*; cf. a Buddhist term, *karma-vipāka*) and drives us on (*kalana*). See AS 7.6 & 3.
55. See *supra* Note I.42. For *kāla-vāda*, see Kavirāj, *Aspects*, p. 60; F.O. Schrader, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 27-40 and A.N. Balslev, *A Study of Time in Indian Philosophy*, Wiesbaden, 1983.
56. Cf. AS 6.16.
57. Cf. AS 33.15-7, MaitriUp 5.2, VP 1.2.59-61, MP 260.14-5, TT pp. 114-5, and see *supra* Note 1.22 for *trimūrti*.
58. Cf. AS 4.45.
59. Cf. AS 4.42.
60. Supply *mūrti* as in AS 6.53 & 57.
61. This form *guṇaḥ* must be a misprint for *guṇam* as in AS 6.57. For this function of Rudra, See Note 57 above.

62. Cf. Devībhāgavata 3.8.43; *ubhayoḥ sattva-rajasor mithunaṃ tama ucyate* // (quoted by Gauḍapāda in his comm. on SK 12).
63. See AS 7.1, LT 5.19-21, TT p. 49, and Varavara's comm. p. 50.23ff.
64. Cf. JS 4.55-6, TT p. 48, Y p. 37.1. Śaṅkara on BhG 9.10.
65. Cf. LT 5.19d and TT p. 51.
66. Cf. BAUp 3.8.11 (cp. MuUp 2.2.5), MuUp 1.1.8-9, 2.1.1, TT p. 49, Varavara's comm. p. 50.15ff., Y *ibid.* Also cf. Buitenen, *Rāmānuja*, p. 38, and Modi, *Akṣara*, Baroda 1932; Otto Strauss, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 538-47. See BhG 15.16-19.
67. For another list of synonyms of Prakṛti, see LT 15.30: *Avyakta, akṣara, yoni, avidyā, triguṇa, sthiti, māyā* and *svabhāva*.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EXPLANATION OF THE IMPURE EVOLUTION (II)

Ahirbudhnya

The equilibrium of the Guṇas,[1] which is neither deficient nor excessive and consists of Tamas, is called the basis of the world, or Prakṛti, by followers of the Sāṃkhya system.[2] (1) The Spirit, consisting of the four couples of the *manu*s, who has descended step by step into Prakṛti, is called the aggregate [of the *manu*s], Puruṣa, Yoni,[3] or Kūṭastha.[4] (2) The principle Time, the great impeller of the world, is the agent uniting and separating the two (i.e., Puruṣa and Prakṛti, in the evolution and dissolution, respectively), influencing their effects.[5] (3) This triad[6] of Time and so forth, O sage, has been in the state of a lump of clay; then, each element being impelled by Viṣṇu's Sudarśana toward its own effects[7] (4), it produces the group of principles from Mahat down to earth. Of these

[three principles], Prakṛti transforms itself like water,[8] clay,[9] and so forth. (5) Puruṣa, although it undergoes no transformation, becomes a cause [merely] by its proximity.[10] Time ripens[11] both principles, Puruṣa and Prakṛti. (6) The equilibrium of the Guṇas, O great sage, when it is governed by Puruṣa,[12] urged on by Time and impelled by Viṣṇu's will (7), is known as Avyakta.

From this Avyakta, there arises a great principle (*mahattattva*), Mahat by name, O sage. *Vidyā, gaurī, avanī, brāhmī, vadhū, vṛddhi, mati, madhu* (8), *akhyāti, īśvara,* and *prajñā*—these[13] are the words designating this principle, O sage. It is said to have three parts: time, judgement, and vitality. (9) These are the names technically given to each wakening [of the three Guṇas in Mahat], according to the difference of Tamas, Sattva and Rajas. Time [here] consists of *truṭi, lava* and so forth;[14] judgement is determinative (10); vitality has effort as its form. They are the [three] varieties of Mahat.[15] Sāttvika form [i.e., *Buddhi*] of Mahat is subdivided into four kinds known as *dharma, jñāna, vairāgya,*[16] and *aiśvarya*; Tāmasa form [i.e., *Kāla*] is into *adharma, ajñāna, avairāgya,* and *anaiśvarya.*[17] (11-2) In the womb of Vidyā (i.e., Mahat), the omniscient and all-seeing eight *manus*, urged by Sudarśana, form an embryo. (13) Then *bodhana,*[18] the sense organ belonging to Vidyā, is produced for them, by which means they will be able to determine the division of things into the good and bad. (14)

There in the womb of Vidyā impelled by Sudarśana, Ahaṅkṛti is born, [also] impelled by Viṣṇu's will. (15) *Ahaṅkāra, abhimāna, prajāpati, ahaṅkṛti, abhimantṛ,* and *boddhṛ*—these words are synonyms referring to it. (16) Its form belonging to Sattva is said to be Vaikārika by name; the form belonging to Rajas, Taijasa; and that belonging to Tamas, Bhūtādi by name.[19] (17) Love,

anger, greed, pride, disregard, and thirst—these are described to you, O sage, as the manifested forms of Ahaṅkṛti. (18) When Ahaṅkṛti appears with its various manifestations, the four couples of the *manus* become an embryo within it. (19) Then urged by Viṣṇu's Sudarśana, *manas,*[20] the sense organ belonging to Ahaṅkāra, is produced for the *manus*. Its function is thinking.[21] (20) In this way, the embryo consisting of the *manus* is now furnished with *manas* as well as *buddhi.*[22]

Then from the Bhūtādi belonging to Tamas, Śabda Tanmātra (the rudimentary element of sound) is born. (21) Space, characterized by sound, is born from the Śabda Tanmātra.[23] Space has sound as its only quality and gives room [to substance].[24] (22) The eight *manus*, O wise one, are impelled by Viṣṇu's will and form an embryo within space. Then from the Vaikārika[25] (23), a pair of the sense and action organs, namely, ears and speech, is produced[26] for the *manus* through the mere intention[27] of God, O sage. (24) In this way, the embryo consisting of the *manus* is now furnished with ears and speech.

From the Bhūtādi urged by Viṣṇu's Sudarśana, Sparśa (touch) [Tan] mātra (25) is born. From this is born air,[28] possessing [the quality] of touch. Drying, propelling, motion, scattering asunder and bringing together (26)—these varieties of action take place because of air, O sage. From the Vaikārika Ahaṅkāra, O sage, a pair of the sense and action organs, namely, skin and the two hands, is produced for air. Then the Puruṣa, consisting of the *manus*, forms, an embryo within it. (27-8) Then impelled by Viṣṇu's will, the embryo comes to move about furnished with skin and two hands in order to perform actions like touching, taking, and so forth. (29)

Then the Bhūtādi, belonging to Tamas, is urged by Sudarśana. From it is born Rūpa (vision) [Tan]mātra;

from this, fire, endowed with vision.[28] (30) Vision, manifestation, ripening, brilliance, and brightness—such are the varieties belonging to fire.[29] From the Vaikārika portion [of Ahaṅkāra] (31) urged by Sudarśana, a pair of eyes and feet is born, O sage. The *manus*, (also) impelled by Sudarśana, form an embryo within fire. Now they have visual form, brilliance, brightness,[30] and so forth. They are able to see and to move about, being furnished with eyes and feet. (32-3)

Then the Bhūtādi, belonging to Tamas, is commanded by Viṣṇu's intention.[27] From it is born Rasa (taste) [Tan] mātra; from this is born water. (34) Then the qualities of water, beginning with taste, lubricity and fluidity,[29] are produced. From the Vaikārika impelled by Viṣṇu's will (35), there is born [a pair] of the sense and action [organs], namely, the tongue and organ of generation. O wise one, the *manus*, who are the authorities of Viṣṇu's activities,[31] are impelled by Viṣṇu's will and form an embryo within water. Now they have taste, fat, and liquid beginning with blood (36-7), while furnished with a tongue and divided into male and female.

Immediately after this, from the Bhūtādi urged by Sudarśana (38), Gandha (scent) Tanmātra is born; from this, earth, endowed with scent. Hardness, heaviness, stability, and so forth are the qualities belonging to earth.[29] (39) From the Vaikārika Ahaṅkāra urged by Sudarśana, [there arises] a pair of the sense and action [organs], namely, the nose and anus, O sage. (40) The *manus* are also impelled by Viṣṇu's will and form an embryo of earth. Now they are heavy and firmly constructed with bones, teeth and so forth (41), while furnished with nose and anus. O sage, they are now fully equipped with their [bodily] parts. Will,[21] pride,[32] and the

five kinds of breath[33] (42) have already been born [to them] from *manas*, *ahaṅkṛti*, and *buddhi*, respectively. In this way, the *manus*, being equipped with all their limbs, together with [the breaths] *prāṇa*, *apāna*, etc. (43), and with all their organs, become embodied thereby [when earth is produced], O sage.

The same kind of time(-table) as was explained above with reference to the cosmic dissolution[34] is to be understood in the case of evolution by Viṣṇu worshippers, who reflect on the principles. [All] this is the transformation of Vidyā (or Prakṛti),[35] made sevenfold[36] by the intention[27] of Viṣṇu. (44-5) They say that these seven subdivisions are the great products,[37] O sage.

Being impelled by Sudarśana, the *manus* also have become differentiated (46), first into the four couples [from Pradyumna][38] and then into male and female [when water is produced].[39] Those (*manus*), who, having naturally obtained knowledge, are omniscient and all-seeing (47), now place the lord Aniruddha as their superintendent[40] within their own self (i.e., Puruṣa).[41] Then under his supervision, the *manus*, impelled by the will [of Viṣṇu], place embryos by the hundreds in their wives. Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras (48-9)—these four kinds of *mānavas* are born couple by couple out of the *manus*' wives. The *mānavas*, having been consecrated [for marriage] by the *manus*, give birth to a number of sons through their own wives. These are the *mānavamānavas*. They have many families, which are spread over this whole (world). (50-1) Constituting the four castes, they perform activities for the sake of Bhagavat. Among them, those who are virtuous and perform their [own] duties for one hundred years[42] (52), enter the supreme Hari, having attained discriminative knowl-

edge.[43] Those who perform duties other than their own, [even] from the beginning of the *yuga* down to its decay[44] (53), with strong desire for rewards, will follow the course produced as the result.

As stated above,[45] Vidyā (or Prakṛti) has the *manu*s as her embryo, O sage. (54) As soon as she becomes pregnant, she is impelled by Viṣṇu's will and produces through her own will many races of gods distinguished by various properties, Daityas, Dānavas, Rākṣases, Gandharvas, snakes, and Kinnaras. They procreate others [of the same kinds]; and these, still others. (55-6) While the *manu*s form the embryo, [the races of] Pitṛs, Devarṣis, and *mānava*s [are produced]. In this way, they are continually created by [the creator god] Brahmā himself by means of Vidyā (or Prakṛti) [when the cosmic egg comes into existence].[46] (57) The *manu*s, the gods, and so forth are said to be the individual manifestations[47] of the highest Puruṣa, which, as stated above,[48] stands below the highest heaven. (58) All [of them] are varieties of *jīva*s, O sage, and are considered to be a portion of Viṣṇu's Bhūti (śakti).

Now, whenever the *manu*s are individualized and procreate offspring (59), Vidyā (or Prakṛti) becomes the eternal (cosmic) Cow with a certain [small] portion of herself. Upon becoming a cloud, Vidyā is called the (cosmic) Cow (60) and pours out milk, known as rain, which develops into food and so forth.[49] By consuming this milk, belonging to Vidyā, all the *mānavamānava*s (61) come to lose their knowledge,[50] although they had originally been omniscient. Therefore, at that time, a scripture[51] is established by the elder *manu*s.[52] (62) By the path taught therein, the *mānavamānava*s attain the highest goal.

So far has been briefly explained the impure evolution of the Bhūti (śakti), O sage (63), realized in this way by Viṣṇu's Sudarśana. Listen again truly, O Nārada, to the following summary. (64)

Hari Viṣṇu possesses just one Śakti that runs through everything. She is the goddess, filled with the six qualities and consisting of knowledge, bliss, and activity.[53] (65) Through the distinction of the realizer and its object, She becomes twofold. Of these (two forms), the realizer is the will of Hari, that is Sudarśana.[54] (66) The reason why it is called Sudarśana is that it can never be obstructed [by any means], O sage. Its essence being action based upon knowledge, it is clear and composed of spontaneous intellect. (67) The other portion, namely, the realizer's object, is said to be the Bhūti (śakti), which is differentiated throughout the pure and impure evolutions from Saṅkarṣaṇa down to earth. (68) In the pure evolution, it remains as [the principles] from Saṅkarṣaṇa down to the highest heaven;[55] in the impure [evolution], from Śakti[56] to earth, O sage. (69) Because Puruṣa, consisting of the four couples [of the *manu*s], stands between these two stages [of creation],[57] understand that it belongs to both pure and impure [evolutions] and is the highest,[4] O great sage. (70) In this way, the Bhūti (śakti) is manifold and consists of many principles, O sage. It is propelled by the wind of Sudarśana in various ways, as though it were a flame (71), progressively at the time of evolution, regressively at the time of dissolution.[58] In the middle [between evolution and dissolution], it is brought to a halt. It is caused by Sudarśana to do thus and so. (72) No matter how small it may be, O great sage, there will be no part of the Bhūti (śakti) that is not regulated by Sudarśana with regard to its birth and so forth. (73)

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1. Cf. TT and Varavara's comm. pp. 52-3.
2. See SK 3, SPBh 1.61 & 67, Varavara's comm. p. 51.14ff.
3. That is, *jīva's yoni*. Cf. MBh 12.334.42, 335.2, AS 10.19.
4. See *supra* Note IV.32.
5. Cf. AS 3.35, 53.10 (*tattva-nirūpaka*), 58.32, MaitriUp 6.14, TT p. 74, Yp. 50.13 (*kārya-kāla*).
6. Cf. BhP 11.24.19.
7. Cf. AS 3.29-37.
8. Cf. SK 16, BhP 11.22.17.
9. Cf. Gauḍapāda on SK 15.
10. See SK 19-21, TK on SK 20 (pp. 220 & 226), VP 2.7.36.
11. Cf. MaitriUp 6.15, MBh 11.2.24, 12.191.9, PS 2.67.
12. Cf. VP 1.2.33.
13. See Schrader, *Intro.*, pp. 69 & 72-3; his reading of *go* for *gaurī* is worng. The form *prājñā* is due to the *śloka* meter. Cf. VāyuP 4.23-47, esp. 27-8 where *mahat, mati, brahmā, khyāti, īśvara, prajñā* and so forth are listed together with *manas, bhū* or *pū* and *buddhi*. For Mahat as *brahmā*, see H 1.1.22-3, LT 5.31; as *khyāti* see SPBh on 2.13.
14. Cf. AS 4.7-9, BhP 3.11.6. For other references, see *supra* Note IV.11.
15. Cf. LT 5.31-5, 16.2-4, VP 1.2.34.
16. The text has *virāga*, due to the *śloka* meter.
17. This description is evidently affected by the use of both terms, Mahat and (cosmic) Buddhi (AS 4.30-4, 6.17), for the principle. For the *aṣṭāṅga-buddhi*, see SK 23 and SPBh on 2.14-5. Also cf. the manifest forms of Ahaṅkāra noted in AS 7.18. In VS 4.14-5, *avairāgya* is *rajo-buddhi*.
18. That is, *buddhi* as an individual organ (cf. AS 7.21), which forms the *antaḥkaraṇa* together with human *ahaṅkāra* and *manas*. See *supra* Note 5.25.
19. Cf. SK 25, SPBh on 2.18, MBh 12. 336. 73, VāyuP 4.48 ff., VP 1.2.35ff., BhP 11.22.32, 24.6-7, PS 2.45ff., LT 5.38 & 49-50, VS 4.21ff., VAS 57, TT p. 54.
20. Opinions differ as to the form of Ahaṅkāra from which *manas* is produced: from the Taijasa in PS 2.48, VS 4.24; from the Vaikārika in VP 1.2.46, BhP 3.5.9 (quoted in SPBh on 2.18), TT pp. 54 & 62, Yp. 37.10-11; or from both in LT 5.51 & 67.

21. Usually the functions of *manas* are both *saṅkalpa* and *vikalpa*. See AS 10.25-6, 58.9, LT 5.68 & 71. Cf. LT 7.31 & 40, 13.34, PS 2.48, 14.35, VS 4.24 (*manas* as the *saṅkalpa-sādhana*), BAUp 2.4.11.
22. Cf. *bodhana* in AS 7.14.
23. Cf. LT 5.38-53, TT p. 56, Yp. 40.3f.
24. Cf. TT p. 69, Yp. 40.10; Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 163.
25. Cf. VAS 57, TT pp. 54 & 61-2.
26. Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 157 (note 2) & 177.
27. Compare *sam-īkṣā* with *su-darśana*, which is identical with God's will (*saṅkalpa*, see AS 2.7-9).
28. Cf. Yp. 41.1ff.
29. Also cf. TT p. 69, Yp. 42.
30. For the difference between *kānti* and *dīpti*, see *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 130-1.
31. See *supra* Note VI.36.
32. This is said to be a *guṇa* of the human *ahaṅkāra*, which constitutes the *antaḥkaraṇa* (cf. *supra* Note 4.25). See AS 7.18 (*māna*), 10.24, LT 5.74-5, 7.35-6 (*phala-svāmya-svarūpo garvaḥ*), PS 7.42.
33. See AS 32.33-7, H 1.40.55-8, SK 29, VedS 77-88; for references in the Upaniṣads, see Deussen, *Philosophy of Ups*, pp. 274-80. These breaths are said to be a *guṇa* of the human *buddhi* (see Note 18 above). See LT 5.77, 7.35. Cf. AS 7.9-11.
34. See AS 4.7ff.
35. See *supra* Note IV.4. Cf. BhG 9.10.
36. Cf. Y p. 44.3-4; *bhūtaiḥ sākhaṃ mahad-ahaṅkārau militvā saptīkaraṇam ity apy āhuḥ /*
37. Cf. VAS 140 (p. 170.1-5): Prakṛti as *mahābhūta-sūkṣma-vastu*.
38. Cf. AS 6.9-11.
39. Cf. AS 7.38.
40. Cf. AS 6.13-4 & 53-60, ŚvetUp 6.11.
41. See AS 6.32f. & 40.
42. That is, "throughout their lifetime" (cf. BhP 4.24.29). For 100 years as the human life span, see RV 10.18.4, 33.9, ĪśaUp 2, BhP 3.11.12. Also see Gonda, *Loka*, p. 88.
43. Cf. BhG 3.35, 18.56, VP 3.8.9, 12 & 19, VAS 126.
44. That is, "even throughout the entire *yuga*", which is the period of Brahmā's creation according to VP 6.1.7. Cf. PauS 43.121, JS 22.5, Manu 1.85, Yāj 2.249.

45. Cf. AS 6.44-5.
46. Cf. AS 30.8-11, 41.6, LT 6.23-4, VP 1.2.56, 6.8.22-6, ŚPS 2.20-9. For the *aṣṭa-vidho daivaḥ sargaḥ*, see SK 53, SPBh on 3.46, BhP 3.10.27-8, Yp. 75.7-13 (*deva-yonayaḥ*). Cf. BhP 3.20.9-52. For the *mānavas*, see AS 6.42.
47. Cf. SPBh on 3.46 (*vyaṣṭi-prāṇin*).
48. Cf. AS 6.22 & 32-3.
49. Cf. AS 4.4 & 10, ChUp 6.2.4, BhG 3.14.
50. Also cf. AS 14.19, VAS 43.
51. Cf. AS 1.68ff., 5.22-4, 11.16ff.
52. Cf. TT and Varavara's comm. pp. 114-5.
53. Cf. ŚvetUp 6.8.
54. Cf. AS 2.7-13 & 62.
55. Read *saṅkarṣaṇādi-vyomāntā*, and see AS 6.21-2. Otherwise, *vyūha* here must include the Vyūhāntaras and Vibhavas. Cf. AS 6.6, 8.31.
56. See *supra* Note 6.14.
57. Cf. AS 6.22 & 33.
58. Cf. AS 5.13-4.

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APPENDIX

SCHEME OF CREATION THEORY IN THE AHIRBUDHNYA SAṂHITĀ

(I) *Daybreak of the God Viṣṇu*

VIṢṆU (Paraṃ Brahma) — LAKṢMĪ (His Śakti)

Ṣāḍguṇya

(1) Jñāna (2) Aiśvarya (3) Śakti
(4) Bala (5) Vīrya (6) Tejas

↓

(1) Kriyā Śakti (Sudarśana)
(2) Bhūti Śakti

(II) *Higher or "Pure" Creation (Evolution, First Stage)*

VYŪHAs	Sub-VYŪHAs (Vyūhāntara),
(1) Vāsudeva	VAIKUṆṬHA
(2) Saṅkarṣaṇa	VIBHAVAs (Avatāra)
(3) Pradyumna	[Sub-VIBHAVAs (Vibhavāntara)]
(4) Aniruddha	ARCĀs

(III) *Intermediate Creation (Evolution, Second Stage)*

KŪṬASTHA PURUṢA (=8 Manus, i.e., four couples of the caste)

ŚAKTI
- Time body..... (1) Niyati, (2) Kāla
- Guṇa body..... (1) Sattva, (2) Rajas, +) (3) Tamas

(4) AVYAKTA (Mūla PRAKṚTI)

(IV) *Lower Primary Creation (Evolution, Third Stage)*

MAHAT
- Sattva elements..... Buddhi (bodhana)
- Rajas elements..... Prāṇa (the five prāṇas)
- Tamas elements..... Kāla

AHAṄKĀRA..... Manas (cintana or Saṅkalpa)

Bhūtādi ← (Tāmasa form) | Taijasa → (Rājasa form) | Vaikārika (Sāttvika form)

TANMĀTRAs		MAHĀBHŪTAs
(1) śabda	→	ākāśa
(2) sparśa	→	vāyu
(3) rūpa	→	tejas
(4) rasa	→	āpas
(5) gandha	→	pṛthivī

BUDDHĪNDRIYAs	KARMĒNDRIYAs
(1) śrotra	vāc
(2) tvac	pāṇi
(3) cakṣus	pāda
(4) rasanā	upastha
(5) ghrāṇa	pāyu

(V) *Secondary or "Gross" Creation*

BRAHMĀṆḌA — BRAHMĀ

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